

AN
APPEAL TO THE WOMEN
OF THE
NOMINALLY FREE STATES,
ISSUED BY AN
ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION
OF
AMERICAN WOMEN.

Held by adjournments from the 9th to the 12th of May, 1837.

Wentworth & Co. Boston

We are thy sisters. — God has truly said,
That of one blood the nations He has made.
Oh, Christian woman! in a Christian land,
Canst thou unblushing read this great command?
Suffer the wrongs which wring our inmost heart,
To draw one throb of pity on thy part!
Our skins may differ, but from thee we claim
A sister's privilege, and a sister's name. — *Sarah Forten.*

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

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APPEAL TO THE WOMEN

OF THE
NOMINALLY FREE STATES.

"The trembling earth, the low murmuring thunders, already admonish us of our danger; and if females can exert any saving influence in this emergency, *it is time for them to awake.*"—CATHARINE E. BEECHER.

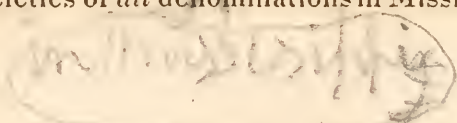
BELoved SISTERS—

The wrongs of outraged millions, and the foreshadows of coming judgments, constrain us, under a solemn sense of responsibility, to press upon your consideration the subject of American Slavery. The women of the North have high and holy duties to perform in the work of emancipation—duties to themselves, to the suffering slave, to the slaveholder, to the church, to their country, and to the world at large; and, above all, to their God. Duties which, if not performed now, may never be performed at all.

Multitudes will doubtless deem such an address ill-timed and ill-directed. Many regard the excitement produced by the agitation of this subject as an evidence of the impolicy of free discussion, and a sufficient excuse for their own inactivity. Others so undervalue the rights and responsibilities of woman, as to scoff and gainsay whenever she goes forth to duties beyond the parlor and the nursery. The cry of such is, that the agitation of this subject has rolled back the cause of emancipation 50 or 100, or it may be 200 years, and that this is a *political* subject with which women have nothing to do. To the first, we would reply, that the people of the South are the *best judges* of the effects of Anti-slavery discussions upon their favorite "domestic institution;" and the universal alarm which has spread through the slave States, is conclusive evidence of *their* conviction that *slavery*

cannot survive discussion. They know full well, that this terrific Upas must fall when the axe of free discussion is laid at its root. "From how many statesmen at the South has not the confession been extorted—extorted by the remorse and fear which they could neither dissipate nor conceal—that the infamy with which they are already branded by all the philanthropists of Christendom, *was fast becoming insupportable!* The plunder of our goods we do not dread, they exclaim; but what is more to be deprecated, *the loss of character.* What can our goods be worth, *while we are constrained to bear the scorn and execration of the civilized world, as a nest of pirates?*" A similar sentiment was uttered by John C. Calhoun, in speaking of his Southern opponents, in the session of Congress 1835, in the Senate. "Do they expect the Abolitionists will resort to arms, and commence a crusade to liberate our slaves by force? Is this what they mean when they speak of the attempt to abolish slavery? If so, let me tell our friends of the South who differ from us, that the war which the Abolitionists wage against us, is of a very different character, AND FAR MORE EFFECTIVE; it is waged *not against our lives, but our character.*" Gen. Duff Green, the Editor of the United States Telegraph, and the great champion of "Southern rights," has expressed the same views: "We believe we have *most* to fear from the organized action upon the *consciences* and fear of the *slaveholders themselves*, from the insinuation of their (abolitionists) dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a *morbid sensibility* on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object."

Here then is the unequivocal testimony of Southerners as to what *they expect* to be the influence of free discussion. Has this expectation been realized? Has the *conscience* of the slaveholder been reached? In answer to these enquiries, we quote from a work recently published by James Smylie, a Presbyterian minister of the Amite Presbytery. "From his intercourse with religious societies of *all* denominations in Mississippi and Louisiana



he was aware that the abolition maxim, viz : that *slavery is in itself sinful, had gained on and entwined itself among the religious and conscientious scruples of many in the community so far as to render them unhappy.* The eye of the mind, resting on slavery itself as a *corrupt fountain*, from which, of necessity, *nothing but corrupt streams* could flow, was *incessantly* employed in search of some plan by which, with safety, the fountain could, in some future time, be *entirely* dried up." An illustration of this important acknowledgment, will be found in the following fact, extracted from the Herald of Freedom : "A young gentleman who has been residing in S. Carolina says, our movements (abolitionists) are producing the best effects upon the South, *rousing the consciences of slaveholders*, while the slaves seem to be impressed as a body with the idea that help is coming — that an interest is felt for them, and plans devising for their relief somewhere — which keeps them quiet. He says it is not uncommon for ministers and good people to make confession like this. One, riding with him broke forth, 'O, I fear that the groans and wails from our slaves enter into the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth. I am distressed on this subject: my *conscience* will let me have no peace. I go to bed, but not to sleep. I walk my room in agony, and resolve that I will never hold slaves another day ; but in the morning my heart, like Pharaoh's, is hardened.'

"And there are others who have liberated their slaves to the number of 500 or 600. Others, again, are weeping in secret places over the abominations of slavery, and praying for the success of our efforts. These things we have learned from Southern lips, and Southern pens. Let them stimulate us to unremitted effort to 'deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest the fury of the Lord go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of our doings' as a nation."

To the second objection, that slavery is a political question, we would say : every citizen should feel an intense interest in the political concerns of the country, because the honor, happiness, and well-being of every class, are bound up in its politics, government and laws. Are we aliens because we are women ? Are we bereft of citi-

zenship because we are the *mothers, wives, and daughters* of a mighty people? Have *women* no country — no interest staked in public weal — no liabilities in common peril — no partnership in a nation's guilt and shame? — Has *woman* no home nor household altars, nor endearing ties of kindred, nor sway with man, nor power at a mercy seat, nor voice to cheer, nor hand to raise the drooping and to bind the broken?

But before we can appreciate the bearings of this subject, and our duties with regard to it, we must first know what slavery is; and then trace out its manifold and monstrous relations. We can thus discover whether women have any duties to discharge in its abolition. We will then attempt to show WHY Northern women should labor for its overthrow, and lastly HOW they can aid in this work of faith, and labor of love.

What then is slavery? It is that *crime* which casts man down from that exaltation where God has placed him, "a little lower than the angels," and sinks him to a level with the beasts of the field. This intelligent and immortal being is confounded with the brutes that perish; he whose spirit was formed to rise in aspirations of gratitude and praise whilst here, and to spend an eternity with God in heaven, is herded with the beasts, whose spirits go downward with their bodies of clay to the dust of which they were made. Slavery is that crime by which man is robbed of his inalienable right to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the diadem of glory and honor with which he was crowned, and that sceptre of dominion which was placed in his hand when he was ushered upon the theatre of creation, and was divinely commissioned to "have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." Slavery throws confusion into the arrangements of Infinite Wisdom, breaks up the divine harmony, and tears up the very foundations of human society. It produces a state of things at war with nature, and hence those unnatural expedients to preserve this system from destruction; hence the severity of those laws which disgrace the statute books of our Southern States. A compend of these

was published in 1827, by Judge Stroud of Philadelphia, and to this work we would refer our sisters for a full and correct exposition of American slavery. Let us first hear what a slave is according to the laws of South Carolina. "Slaves shall be deemed, taken and reputed and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their masters, owners, and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever." As "*chattels personal*," they are held in 12 of the Southern States, but in Louisiana they are held as *real estate*. Her law runs thus: "Slaves shall always be reputed and considered as *real estate*, shall be as such subject to be mortgaged according to the rules prescribed by law, and they shall be seized and sold as *real estate*." She further says "A slave is one who is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master." In the one case he is held as bank stock, or the shares in a rail-road company, in the other as houses or lands. In both he is equally liable to be seized at any time, and sold for the debts of a living or deceased master. These definitions of a slave, then, plainly declare, "that the slave is not to be ranked among *sentient* beings, but among *things* is an article of property, a chattel personal." The code therefore which has been framed to keep this rational being on a level with the brutes, this sentient creature on an equality with inanimate objects, must necessarily be terribly severe, a permanent index to the *hearts* of those who framed it, and those who, although invested with the power, refuse to abrogate it. The following car-rolleries are amply sustained by the language of the slave codes themselves:

I. MAN, created in the image of God, is reduced to a *thing*.

II. MAN is robbed of his "inalienable right to liberty," and is held in perpetual captivity.

III. MAN can own *no* property, and is daily plundered of the fruits of his toil. Says God, "The laborer is worthy of his hire:" says the slaveholder, "*I* will yoke him with the brutes, and he shall *toil for me*."

IV. MAN "can make *no* contract." God has established the marriage relation; and Christ has said, "What therefore God hath joined together, let *not* man put asunder." The slaveholder denies the right, and forbids to marry. *Not a single slave in the United States is legally married.* The nominal marriages which they contract may be broken at any time by the master, and are continually and most cruelly sundered every day. Look, then, at the awful state of concubinage to which two millions and a quarter of our citizens are reduced, by the statute laws of our land.

V. MAN is denied the benefits of education, and compelled to disobey the divine command to "search the Scriptures:" they are a sealed book to him — sealed by the express provisions of the legal code of the South.

VI. MAN is required to yield unqualified submission to his fellow man — ay, and WOMAN, too, is bound to submit, and become the unconsenting victim of unspeakable indignities. Resistance may be punished with death.

VII. MAN is thrown entirely out of the protection of law: *the murder of the slave is legalized in four different ways*; and the same laws which reduce him to the condition of the brute, and deny him legal protection, punish him with unparalleled severity. In Virginia, there are seventy-one offences for which the slave may suffer death, and thirty-six in South Carolina. In all these cases, we must remember he is denied the right of a presentation by a grand jury, and a trial by a petit jury — and this, too, in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States.

VIII. MAN is deprived of all hope of redemption from this horrible condition, either for himself, his wife, or his children. Slavery is to be (according to the slave laws) "hereditary and perpetual."

Here, then, is a faint description of American slavery. This is the republican despotism under which the slaves of our country are groaning out a life of ignorance, degradation, and anguish. Let every American citizen ponder this question, which bears with momentous power on the destinies of our country, whether we regard it in a political, a moral, or a religious point of view.

SLAVERY A POLITICAL SUBJECT.

I. Let us first look at it as a *political* subject. Such incongruous elements as freedom and slavery, republicanism and despotism, cannot long exist together; the unnatural and unhallowed union between these things must sooner or later be broken. Not only are one-sixth part of the inhabitants of this republic held in abject slavery, but the free and the slave States are unequally yoked together—they do not enjoy equal privileges. In the former, persons only are represented in our National Congress; in the latter, *properly* as well as persons send their representatives there. The slaveholding and non-slaveholding States have antagonist interests, which are continually conflicting, and producing jealousies and heart-burnings between the contending parties. Our Congressional debates have presented one unvaried scene of unreasonable demands and haughty threats on the one hand—of tame compromise, and unmanly, and in many cases most *unprincipled* submission on the other. Slavery not only robs the slave of all his rights as a man in thirteen of the States of this Confederacy, but it vaults over the barrier of Mason's and Dixon's line, swims the Ohio and the Potomac, and bribes Northern citizens to kidnap and enslave free-men of the North—drags them into hopeless bondage, and sells them under the hammer of the auctioneer. Not only so—it outlaws every Northerner who openly avows the sentiments of the Declaration of our Independence, and destroys the free communication of our sentiments through the medium of the mail, so that the daughters of America cannot now send the productions of their pen to the parent who resides in a slaveholding State. It threatens even our Representatives in Congress with assassination, if they dare to open their lips in defence of the rights of the oppressed and the dumb—tramples in the dust the right of petition, when exercised by free men and free women—brands them with the opprobrious epithets of “white slaves” and “devils,” and rides triumphant over the bowed heads of the senators and representatives of our free States. Slavery nurses within the bosom of our country her deadliest foes, and threatens to bring

down the "exterminating thunders" of divine vengeance upon our guilty heads. "The dark spirit of slavery" rules in our national councils, and menaces the severance of the bonds which bind together these United States, and to shake from our star-spangled banner, as with a mighty wind, those glittering emblems of our country's pre-eminence among the nations of the earth, and to burn our Declaration as a "splendid absurdity," a "rhetorical flourish;" to offer the glorious charter of our constitutional liberties and alliance upon the same altar—to the horns of which the bleeding slave is now bound by the chain of his servitude, and the colored freeman by "the cord of caste."

This is a very imperfect outline of the political bearings of this great question; and it is gravely urged, that as it is a *political subject*, *women* have no concernment with it: this doctrine of the North is a sycophantic response to the declaration of a Southern representative, that women have *no right* to send up petitions to Congress. We know, dear sisters, that the open and the secret enemies of freedom in our country have dreaded our influence, and therefore have reprobated our interference; and in order to blind us to our responsibilities, have thrown dust into our eyes, well knowing that if the organ of vision is only clear, the whole body the moving and acting faculties will become full of light, and will soon be thrown into powerful action. Some, who pretend to be very jealous for the honor of our sex, and are very anxious that *we* should scrupulously maintain the dignity and delicacy of female propriety, continually urge this objection to female effort. We grant that it is a political, as well as a moral subject: does this exonerate women from their duties as subjects of the government, as members of the great human family? Have women never wisely and laudably exercised political responsibilities?

When the Lord led out his chosen people like a flock into the wilderness, from the house of bondage, was it not a *woman* whom He sent before them with Moses and Aaron? Did she not lead her manumitted sisters in that sublime peon of thanksgiving and praise which ascended from their grateful hearts as they answered the chorus of

their brethren with the inspired words, "Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea." And was not the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage a *political concern*? Did it not shake the throne of the Pharaohs, desolate the land of Egypt, and strike terror into the stubborn hearts of subtle politicians. Miriam then interfered with the *political concerns* of Egypt; and we doubt not, had the monarch been permitted to lay his hand upon the sister of Moses, she would have suffered as a leader in this daring attempt to lead out her sisters from the house of bondage. Would not her fate have been similar to that of the heroine of the fifteenth century?

When Barak received the divine command to go down to Mount Tabor; and the promise that with ten thousand men he should overcome the hosts of Sisera with their iron chariots, to whom did he appeal in those memorable words—"If *thou* wilt go with me, then I will go; but if *thou* wilt not go with me, then I will not go?" It was to Deborah; and this *woman* intermeddled so far with the *political concerns* of Israel, as to go up with him to the battle; and when, as she predicted, Sisera was sold into the hands of a woman, she united with Barak in a song of triumphant praise, that the ancient Kishon had swept down in the current of its waters the lifeless bodies of the Canaanitish warriors.

But many seem to think, that although women may have been called to the performance of extraordinary duties in the days of miracle and of inspiration, that under no other circumstances could such conduct have been warranted. Let us turn, then, to the history of Rome. When Coriolanus, who had been banished by the Roman Senate, returned with a host of barbarians, to wreak his vengeance upon the proud mistress of the world, and after the embassies of senators, and priests, and augurs, had failed to move his unrelenting heart, who were sent out to try the magic power of their tears and prayers? Were they not the *wife* and *mother* of the Roman warrior, and were they not followed by a train of matrons, who approached the Volscian camp to plead their country's cause? And what was the success of this embassy of mercy

and of love ? The hero's icy heart was melted by the tears and pleadings of these feeble ones : he bowed his stubborn will to theirs, turned back his disappointed freebooters from the gates of Rome, and sent these *women* home with the glad tidings of peace upon their trembling lips.

But perhaps the sage objector may say, " True ; but these women were delegated by the Roman Senate — *they* were vested with authority by ' the powers that be ' — *they* did not rush uncalled into the field of action." Was this, then, *their* commission for intermeddling with the *political concerns* of their country ? Where, then, was the commission of those Sabine women, who threw themselves between the hostile armies, when they were just about plunging their javelins into the hearts of their own fathers, brothers, and sons ? Were *they* deputed by the Roman Senate ? No ! they held higher credentials. The angel of mercy commissioned them each to do and to dare all that might become a woman, in such a fearful hour of agony and boding. They rushed between the embattled hosts. At the sight of their tears and prayers, the iron grasp relaxed — the weapons fell — and they who met in hate to kill, embraced in love, and thenceforth mingled into one. These *women* poured the assuasive oil over the troubled waters of strife. *Woman* became the healer of breaches — the restorer of paths to dwell in.

But are these the doings of olden time alone ? are there no instances of woman's " interference " in modern history ? About the middle of the fifteenth century, when the kingdom of France had fallen, and the infant monarch of England had placed her crown upon his youthful head, lo ! a woman arose as the deliverer of her country. *She* led on the broken spirited troops of France to the siege of Orleans, 1428 — compelled the English to surrender — conducted Charles the Seventh to the city of Rheims — witnessed the coronation of the astonished prince — and then retired from the plaudits of a grateful nation, who hailed the deliverance she had wrought as almost miraculous. And who was this Joan of Arc ? An uneducated country girl, who stepped so far beyond the sphere of her humble duties, as the servant of a tavern-keeper, as to

intermeddle with the *political concerns* of one of the greatest kingdoms of Europe. What wonderful presumption ! No marvel, then, that she suffered the penalty of her strange temerity, being burned alive as a witch, by the English, in the town of Rouen.

But let us turn over the pages of our own history. When the British army had taken possession of our beautiful city of brotherly love, who arose at midnight to listen to the plots which were laid in an upper chamber, by General Howe in his council of war ? It was a *woman* : and when she stole the secret from their unconscious lips, she kept it locked within her own bosom, until under an ingenious pretext she repaired to Frankford, gained an interview with Washington, and disclosed to him the important intelligence which saved the lives of her countrymen. Did Lydia Darrah confer a benefit upon the American army — did she perform the duties of an American citizen ? Or, was this act an impertinent intermeddling with the *political concerns* of her country, with which, as a *woman*, she had nothing to do ? Let the daughters of this republic answer the question.*

It is related of Buonaparte, that he one day rebuked a French lady for busying herself with politics. "Sire," replied she, "in a country where *women* are put to death, it is very natural that *women* should wish to know the reason why." And, dear sisters, in a country where women are degraded and brutalized, and where their exposed persons bleed under the lash — where they are sold in the shambles of "negro brokers" — robbed of their hard earnings — torn from their husbands, and forcibly plundered of their virtue and their offspring ; surely in *such* a country, it is very natural that *women* should wish to know "the reason *why*" — especially when these outrages of blood and nameless horror are practiced in violation of the principles of our national Bill of Rights and the Preamble of our Constitution. We do not, then, and cannot concede the position, that because this is a *political sub-*

* We would here remark, that these instances of interference on the part of women of different ages and countries, in the political concerns of states and kingdoms, are not cited as *approbatory* of the measures they employed, but as illustrations of the principle that *women are citizens*, and that they have important duties to perform for their country.

ject women ought to fold their hands in idleness, and close their eyes and ears to the "horrible things" that are practiced in our land. The denial of our duty to act, is a bold denial of our right to act; and if we have no right to act, then may we well be termed "the white slaves of the North"—for, like our brethren in bonds, we must seal our lips in silence and despair.

SLAVERY A MORAL SUBJECT.

II. This, however, is not merely a political subject; it is highly moral, and as such claims the attention of every *moral* being. Slavery exerts a most deadly influence over the morals of our country, not only over that portion of it where it actually exists as "a domestic institution," but like the miasma of some pestilential pool, it spreads its desolating influence far beyond its own boundaries. Who does not know that licentiousness is a crying sin at the North as well as at the South? and who does not admit that the manners of the South in this respect have had a wide and destructive influence on Northern character? Can crime be fashionable and common in one part of the Union and unrebuked by the other without corrupting the very heart's blood of the nation, and lowering the standard of morality everywhere? Can Northern men go down to the well-watered plains of the South to make their fortunes, without bowing themselves in the house of Rimmon and drinking of the waters of that river of pollution which rolls over the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah? Do they return uncontaminated to their homes, or does not many and many a Northerner dig the grave of his virtue in the Admahs and Zeboims of our Southern States. And can our theological and academic institutions be opened to the sons of the planter without endangering the purity of the morals of our own sons, by associations with men who regard the robbery of the poor as no crime, and oppression as no wrong? Impossible!

Then, again, the interest of the North and the South are closely interwoven; and this circumstance has contributed to blind the eyes of the North to the sin of the slaveholder, and to steel his heart against the sufferings of the helpless slave. She has learned to look with cold

indifference, if not with approbation, upon that organized system of robbery which is dignified with the mild epithet of "peculiar institution of the South," and to hear unmoved those wailings of agony and despair which come up from the sultry fields of Louisiana and Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Yes, so demoralizing has been the influence of Southern commerce and Southern custom of dollars and of cents, that millions in the free States stand up on the side of the oppressor, and pour out all the sympathies of their souls into the bosoms of those who buy and sell and degrade and brutalize their fellow-creatures. What further need have we of evidence that the North has been most deeply corrupted, than the fact that *her* hands are busy in daubing this idol temple with untempered mortar, and *her* lips in crying peace! peace! to the South, when God has declared, "there is no peace to the wicked." Look, too, at her citizens, even her *ministers* becoming slaveholders and marrying slaveholders, instead of rebuking this presumptuous insurrection against the rights of God and man, and refusing to be partakers in their evil deeds. But this is not all; our people have erected a false standard by which to judge of men's character. Because in the slaveholding States colored men are plundered and kept in abject ignorance, are treated with disdain and scorn, so here, too, in profound deference to the South, we refuse to eat, or ride, or walk, or associate, or open our institutions of learning, or even our zoological institutions to people of color, unless they visit them in the capacity of *servants*, of menials in humble attendance upon the Anglo-American.* Who ever heard of a more wicked absurdity in a Republican country?

Have Northern women, then, nothing to do with slavery, when its demoralizing influence is polluting their domestic circles and blasting the fair character of *their* sons and brothers? Nothing to do with slavery when *their* domestics are often dragged by the merciless kidnapper from the hearth of their nurseries and the arms of their little ones? Nothing to do with slavery when Northern women

*The restriction to which we allude is contained in the following extract from the pamphlet published by the Institute. "*The proprietors wish it to be understood, that PEOPLE OF COLOR are not permitted to enter EXCEPT WHEN IN ATTENDANCE UPON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES,*"

are chained and driven like criminals, and incarcerated in the great prison-house of the South? Nothing to do with slavery? — but we forbear, and pass on to consider it in a religious point of view.

SLAVERY A RELIGIOUS SUBJECT.

III. It is as a religious question that we regard it as most important. O ! it is when we look at the effort made by slaveholders to destroy the *mind* of the slave that we fear and tremble. “It is,” says the North Carolina Manumission Society, in 1826, “the maxim of slave-masters in common with *other tyrants*, the more ignorance the more safety.” Hear, too, the language of Berry in the Virginia House of Delegates, in 1832. “We have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds. If we could *extinguish the capacity* to see the light, our work would be completed; they would be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe. I am *not* certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the necessary process — and that under the plea of necessity.” And these testimonies are corroborated by James A. Thome, a minister of the Gospel, of Kentucky. “The plantations of the South are graveyards of the *mind*, the inexpressive countenances of the slaves are monuments of souls expired, and their spiritless eyes their epitaphs.” And Robert J. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, affirms, that one feature of American slavery is, “to deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and *intellectual* culture.”

Not only are the means of *mental* improvement withheld from the slave, but the opportunities of receiving *moral* culture also. Not only is the privilege of learning to read and write, &c. denied, but no provision is made by law for his religious instruction, and hardly any by the church or the master. Indeed the slaveholder possesses *legally* supreme dominion over the *soul* of his slave. This was admitted in 1831, by C. C. Jones, now a professor in the Theological Seminary of Columbia, South Carolina, in a sermon preached by him before two associations of planters in Georgia. These are his own words, — “In the exercise of that *supreme power* over them, *vested in us by*

the laws of our country, we can forbid any man's coming on our plantations for the purpose of religiously instructing them — we can forbid all meetings for religious purposes on our plantations — we can refuse to instruct them ourselves — we can forbid them the privileges of God's sanctuary on the Sabbath — we can literally bar the door of entrance into Heaven against them ; nor is there any power in our government that can compel us to swerve a hair from such treatment of them. The moral destinies of these people are submitted to our disposal." Here then is the despotic power with which every slaveholder in our land is vested. We would now ask, do they exercise it ? We appeal to the South for an answer. We condemn her *not* by northern testimony, but *out of her own mouth*. What is the condition of her slaves ? In the same sermon from which the above extract is taken, we find the following :—"The description which the apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans gives of the heathen world, will apply with *very little* abatement, to our negroes. . . . Chastity is an exceeding rare virtue. Poligamy is common, and there is little sacredness attached to the marriage contract. It is entered into for the most part without established forms and is dissolved at the will of the parties.* Nor is there any sacredness attached to the Sabbath. It is a day of idleness and sleep, of sinful amusement, of visiting and of labor. Numbers of them do not go to church, and cannot tell who Jesus Christ is, nor have they ever heard so much as the ten commandments read and explained. Of the professors of religion among them, there are many of questionable piety, who occasion the different churches great trouble in discipline, for they are extremely ignorant, and frequently are guilty of the grossest vices. Generally speaking, they appear to us to be without hope and without God in the world. A NATION OF HEATHEN IN OUR VERY MIDST. And if we believe the testimony of our own eyes and ears, and the testimony of those who know these people most intimately, we must conclude that they need the Gospel, and need it AS MUCH AS ANY PEOPLE IN THE WORLD. We have been shocked at the death of 40,000

* Just as frequently at the will of tyrannical masters.

men annually, by intemperance. But it is probable that as many die annually among the negroes in slaveholding states, whose death is *equally as hopeless* as that of the drunkard, and yet we have not thought of this, neither have we felt it. The majority do not hear the Gospel for weeks and months together. But whenever the negroes hear the preaching of the Gospel, they hear it to a very great disadvantage. The sermons are almost wholly delivered to their masters, and are not only for the greater part inapplicable to them, but *entirely above their comprehension*, both as to language and thought. The gospel is preached to them in *an unknown tongue*. Many of them are guilty of notorious sins and know not that they are sins at all."

We might quote more abundantly from official Southern testimony, but these have so often been printed and reprinted that we have purposely avoided introducing them into this address. We feel then that the supreme power of the master over his slaves has been put forth, *not* "to compel them to come" into the gospel kingdom, but to keep them in the lowest possible state of ignorance, degradation, and crime. Have Northern women then nothing to do with this "NATION OF HEATHEN IN OUR VERY MIDST?" Shall we pour our treasures into the funds of the Foreign Missionary Society to send the glad tidings of redeeming love to "the isles of the Gentiles," to Russia and Greece, to China and Burmah, and the coast of Africa, and yet sit down in indifference to the perishing souls of *our own countrymen*? Shall we busy ourselves to send the Bible to nations afar off, and yet neglect to do all that our hands and lips and pens and purses can do, to induce the South to abolish a system which forbids almost entirely the labors of missionaries among one half of her population, and altogether seals up the pages of divine inspiration to them? Nothing to do with slavery! O! our sisters, some of us feel ready to exclaim—if we forget the complicated wrongs of our brethren and sisters in chains, let our right hands forget their cunning! If we remember not "them that are in bonds as bound with them," and plead not the cause of the dumb, let our tongues cleave to the roofs of our mouths, if we prefer not to suffer reproach and afflict-

tions for these outraged ones, to all the joys of worldly power and human praise. Nothing to do with slavery ! Then we would ask, what have *we* to do with the frantic screams of that Hindoo widow who ascends the funeral pile of her husband, and offers up her own body a living sacrifice to the demon of superstition ? What have *we* to do with that Indian mother who plunges her innocent babe into the Ganges ? or with that father who, when it lifts its little hands for help, strikes it down with the paddle of his boat ? What have *we* to do with the Sumatrian who carries his decrepit parent into the pathless woods, and leaves him to perish with hunger and thirst ? Ah ! dear sisters, *we know* that as human beings and as Christians, *we are* “ debtors, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians ” of other lands ; and are *we not much more so* to the bond and the heathen of our own ?

We have hitherto addressed you more as moral and responsible beings, than in the distinctive character of women ; we have appealed to you on the broad ground of *human rights* and human responsibilities, rather than on that of your peculiar duties as women. We have pursued this course of argument designedly, because, in order to prove that you have any duties to perform, it is necessary first to establish the principle of moral being — for all our rights and all our duties grow out of this principle. *All moral beings have essentially the same rights and the same duties*, whether they be male or female. This is a truth the world has yet to learn, though she has had the experience of fifty-eight centuries by which to acquire the knowledge of this fundamental axiom. Ignorance of this has involved her in great inconsistencies, great errors, and great crimes, and hurled confusion over that beautiful and harmonious structure of human society which infinite wisdom had established. We will now endeavor to enumerate some reasons why we believe Northern women, as *women*, are solemnly called upon to labor in the great and glorious work of emancipation.

I. SLAVE-TRADE SANCTIONED BY A WOMAN.

We know that our country is very anxious to throw all the blame of the origin of slavery here upon England,

although it is a well-established fact, that the first slaves ever introduced into the colonies, were *voluntarily* purchased by the colonists from a *Dutch* vessel in 1620. Upon the head of England, however, *we* pour the execrations of our wrath for having brought upon us the curse of slavery. Let us now turn over the pages of her history to find out who filled her throne at the time that Captain Hawkins was authorized to carry on the horrible traffic of the slave trade. It was a *WOMAN*! This first British pirate on the coast of Africa, assisted by some rich persons in London, fitted out three ships, and sailed to Africa, where he plundered the towns and carried off three hundred of the defenceless inhabitants to Hispaniola. This noble exploit of Christian chivalry was followed by the express authority of Elizabeth, to perpetrate a series of such depredations upon the shores of this devoted continent.* If then, a *WOMAN* was the first British Sovereign who legalized the African slave-trade, through whose instrumentality so many thousands of the victims of oppression have been brought to our land, then *women* are bound to do all they can to exterminate the evil which *woman* exerted her power and authority to bring upon our country and the world.

II. WOMEN THE VICTIMS OF SLAVERY.

Out of the millions of slaves who have been stolen from Africa, a very great number must have been women who were torn from the arms of their fathers and husbands, brothers and children, and subjected to all the horrors of the middle passage and the still greater sufferings of slavery in a foreign land. Multitudes of these were cast upon our inhospitable shores; some of them now toil out a life of bondage, "one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that" which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose. But the great mass of female slaves in the southern States are the descendants of these hapless strangers; 1,000,000 of them now wear the iron yoke of slavery in this land of boasted liberty and law.

* Perhaps it is but justice to the Queen to say, that at the very time she granted this commission to Hawkins, "she expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent, declaring that such a thing would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers."

They are our country women — *they are our sisters*; and to us, as women, they have a right to look for sympathy with their sorrows, and effort and prayer for their rescue. Upon those of us especially who have named the name of Christ, they have peculiar claims, and claims which *we must answer, or we shall incur a heavy load of guilt.*

Women, too, are constituted by nature the peculiar guardians of children, and children are the victims of this horrible system. Helpless infancy is robbed of the tender care of the mother and the protection of the father. There are in this Christian land thousands of little children who have been made orphans by the “domestic institution” of the South; and whilst woman’s hand is stretched out to gather in the orphans and the half orphans whom *death* has made in our country, and to shelter them from the storms of adversity, O let us not forget the orphans whom *crime* has made in our midst; but let us plead the cause of *these* innocents. Let us expose the heinous wickedness of the internal slave-trade. It is an organized system for the disruption of family ties, a manufactory of widows and orphans.

III. WOMEN ARE SLAVEHOLDERS.

Multitudes of the Southern women hold men, women and children as *property*. *They* are pampered in luxury, and nursed in the school of tyranny; *they* sway the iron rod of power, and *they* rob the laborer of his hire. Immortal beings tremble at *their* nod, and bow in abject submission at *their* word, and under the cowskin too often wielded by *their* own delicate hands. Women at the South hold *their own sisters* and brothers in bondage. Start not at this dreadful assertion — we speak that which some of us do know — we testify that which some of us have seen. Such facts ought to be known, that the women of the North may understand *their* duties, and be incited to perform *them*.

Southern families often present the most disgusting scenes of dissension, in which the mistress acts a part derogatory to her own character as a woman. Jefferson has so exactly described the bitter fruits of slavery in the domestic circle that we cannot forbear re-quoting it:

“The whole commerce between master and slave is a *perpetual exercise* of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one hand, and degrading submission on the other. The parent *stomps*, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in a circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and thus *nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny*, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.” We wish this picture applied only to the “commerce between *master and slave*;” but we know that there are *female tyrants* too, who are prompt to lay their complaints of misconduct before their husbands, brothers and sons, and to urge them to commit acts of violence against their helpless slaves. Others still more cruel, place the lash in the hands of some trusty domestic, and stand by whilst he lays the heavy strokes upon the unresisting victim, deaf to the cries for mercy which rend the air, or rather the more enraged at such appeals, which are only answered by the Southern lady with the prompt command of “give her more for that.” This work of chastisement is often performed by a brother, or other relative of the poor sufferer, which circumstance stings like an adder the very heart of the slave while her body writhes under the lash. Other mistresses who cannot bear that their delicate ears should be pained by the screams of the poor sufferers, write an order to the master of the Charleston work-house, or the New Orleans calaboose, where they are most cruelly stretched in order to render the stroke of the whip or the blow of the paddle more certain to produce cuts and wounds which cause the blood to flow at every stroke. And let it be remembered that these poor creatures are often *women* who are most indecently divested of their clothing and exposed to the gaze of the executioner of a *woman’s* command.

What then, our beloved sisters, must be the effects of such a system upon the domestic character of the white females? Can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit? Can such despotism mould the character of the Southern woman to gentleness and love? or may we not fairly conclude that all that suavity, for which slaveholding ladies are so conspicuous, is in many instances the paint and

the varnish of hypocrisy, the fashionable polish of a heartless superficiality ?

But it is not the character alone of the mistress that is deeply injured by the possession and exercise of such despotic power, nor is it the degradation and suffering to which the slave is continually subject; but another important consideration is, that in consequence of the dreadful state of morals at the South, the wife and the daughter sometimes find their homes a scene of the most mortifying, heart-rending preference of the degraded domestic, or the colored daughter of the head of the family. There are, alas, too many families, of which the contentions of Abraham's household is a fair example. But we forbear to lift the veil of private life any higher ; let these few hints suffice to give you some idea of what is daily passing *behind* that curtain which has been so carefully drawn before the scenes of domestic life in Christian America.

And now, dear sisters, let us not forget that *Northern* women are participators in the crime of slavery — too many of *us* have surrendered our hearts and hands to the wealthy planters of the South, and gone down with them to live on the unrequited toil of the slave. Too many of *us* have ourselves become slaveholders, our hearts have been hardened under the searing influence of the system, and we, too, have learned to be tyrants in the school of despots. Too few of us have replied to the matrimonial proposals of the slaveholder :

“ Go back, haughty Southron, thy treasures of gold
Are dimmed by the blood of the hearts thou hast sold ;
Thy home may be lovely, but round it I hear
The crack of the whip and the footsteps of fear.

Full low at thy bidding thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
Yet know that the Northerner sooner would be
In fetters with them than in freedom with thee.”

But let it be so no longer. Let us henceforward resolve, that the women of the free States *never* again will barter their principles for the blood-bought luxuries of the South — *never* again will regard with complacency, much less with the tender sentiments of love, any man “ who buildeth his house by unrighteousness and his chambers by

wrong, that useth his neighbor's service *without wages*, and giveth him *naught* for his work."

And there are others amongst us, who, though not slaveholders ourselves, yet have those who are nearest and dearest to us involved in this sin. Ah, yes! some of us have fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, who are living in the slave States, and are daily served by the unremunerated servant; and for the enlightenment of these *we* are most solemnly bound to labor and to pray without ceasing. Vast responsibilities are rolled upon us by the fact that we believe we have received the truth on this subject, whilst they are in ignorance and error. Some Northern women too, are the wives of slaveholders, and of those who hold mortgages on the slaves of the South.

IV. WOMEN USE THE PRODUCTS OF SLAVE LABOR.

Multitudes of Northern women are daily making use of the products of slave labor. They are clothing themselves and their families in the cotton, and eating the rice and the sugar which they well know has cost the slave his unrequited toil; his blood and his tears; and if the maxim in law be founded in justice and truth, that "*the receiver is as bad as the thief*," how much greater the condemnation of those who not merely receive the stolen products of the slave's labor, but *voluntarily* purchase them, and *continually appropriate them to their own use*.

We frequently meet with individuals who, though very particular in not using sugar which has been raised by the slave, yet feel no compunction in purchasing slave-grown cotton, and assign as a reason, that there is not that waste of life in the culture of cotton, which attends that of sugar. *But is there less waste of blood?* We copy the following description of the *whip* which is *made by Northern men*, and used by Southern overseers on *cotton plantations*. "The staff is about 20 or 22 inches in length, with a large and heavy head, which is often loaded with a quarter or half a pound of lead, wrapped in catgut, and securely fastened on, so that nothing but the greatest violence can separate it from the staff. The lash is 10 feet long, made of small strips of buckskin, tanned

so as to be dry and hard, and plaited carefully and closely together, of the thickness in the larger part of a man's little finger, but quite small at each extremity. At the furthest end of this thong is attached a cracker, nine inches in length, made of strong sewing silk, twisted and knotted, until it feels as firm as the hardest twine.

This whip, in an unpracticed hand, is a very awkward and inefficient weapon ; but the *best* qualification of the overseer of a *cotton* plantation, is the ability of using this whip with adroitness, and when wielded by an experienced arm it is one of the *keenest instruments of torture* ever invented by the ingenuity of man. The cat-o'-nine-tails, used in the British military service, is but a clumsy instrument beside this whip, which has superseded the cowhide, the hickory, and every other species of lash on the *cotton* plantations. The cowhide and the hickory bruise and mangle the flesh of the sufferer ; but *this whip cuts*, when expertly applied, *almost as keen as a knife*, and never bruises the flesh nor injures the bones." What then do our sisters say to using *cotton* which is raised under the keen and cutting lash of this whip, by the mancipated mothers, wives and daughters of the South." Can these sufferers really believe we are remembering them that are in bonds *as bound with them*, whilst we freely use what costs them so much agony ?

And has the Lord uttered no rebuke to us in these fearful times ? Is there *no* lesson for *us* to learn in recent events ? Who are the men that now weep and mourn over their broken fortunes — their ruined hopes ? Are they not the merchants and manufacturers, who have traded largely in the unrequited labor of the slave ? Men who have joined hand in hand with the wicked, and entered into covenant to rivet the chains of the captive ?

We are often told that free articles cannot be obtained ; but why not ? Our answer is, because there is so little demand for them. Only let the moral sense of the free States become so pure and so elevated as to induce them to refuse to purchase slave-grown products, and the manufacturers, and merchants, and grocers, will soon devise some plan by which to supply their factories and stores with free labor cotton and goods. But we may be asked

what are we to do until the market is supplied? We unhesitatingly reply, suffer the inconvenience of deprivation, and then will *you*, dear sisters, become the favored instruments in the Lord's hand, of producing that change in public feeling which will lead to such action as will bring the desired supply into our market. We find that those who really wish to obtain such articles, are almost universally able to do so, if they will pay a little higher price, and be satisfied to wear what may not be of quite so good a quality; but it is frequently the case that even this trifling self-denial is not necessary:

We would remind you of the course pursued by our revolutionary fathers and mothers when Great Britain levied upon her colonies what they regarded as unjust taxes. Read the words of the historian, and ponder well the noble self-denial of the men and *women* of this country, when they considered their own liberties endangered by the encroachments of England's bad policy. Look, then, at the influence which their measures produced in making it the interest of the merchants and manufacturers in Great Britain to second the petitions of her colonies for a redress of grievances, and judge for yourselves whether the Southern planters would not gladly second the efforts of the abolitionists, by petitioning their National and State Legislatures for the abolition of slavery, if they found they could no longer sell their slave-grown produce.

"In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on as though no Stamp Act had existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to *risk all consequences*, rather than submit to use the paper required by law. While these matters were in agitation, the colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures, till the Stamp Act should be repealed. By suspending their future purchases on the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Colonists made it the *interest* of merchants and manufacturers to solicit for that repeal. They had usually taken so great a proportion of British manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting annually to two or three millions sterling, threw some thousands in the mother country out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own interests, to

advocate the measures wished for by America. The petitions by the Colonists were seconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right and connected with their liberties, the latter also solicited from motives of immediate interest.

“In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the colonists betook themselves to a variety of necessary domestic manufactures. In a little time large quantities of common cloths were brought to market; and these, though *dearer* and of a *worse quality*, were cheerfully preferred to similar articles imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into resolutions to abstain from eating lamb. Foreign elegancies were laid aside. The *women* were as exemplary as the men in various instances of self-denial. With great readiness they refused every article of decoration for their persons, and luxury for their tables. These restrictions, which the colonists had voluntarily imposed on themselves, were so well observed, that multitudes of artificers in England were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactories were in a great measure at a stand.”—*Ramsay’s History, U. S.*, pp. 345-6.

Would not a similar effect be produced in *this* country at *this* time, if the *women* of the free States would practice the same self-denial which distinguished our mothers. Let them refuse “every article of decoration for their persons and luxury for their tables,” and of convenience and comfort, the use of which imposes upon the down-trodden slave *not* a paltry tax of pennies upon paper and tea, but the heavy tribute of tears, and groans, and blood, and perpetual bondage.

Our fathers and mothers were quick to discern the working of the principle of oppression when it was applied to themselves: their necks were galled by the friction of a very easy yoke, and they were prompt to devise means and ways by which to rid themselves of it. But to us, dear sisters, is committed a *far nobler work*. We are called upon, *not* to break the yoke which is fastened on *our own* necks, but to aid in the generous, disinterested effort to break asunder that which bows the heads of the

poor in the very dust of degradation and woe. *We* are called upon by the cries of a people "scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down," to obey the divine injunction, "Deliver the poor and needy, rid them out of the hand of the wicked." Our fathers asserted their right to freedom at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon, but we repudiate all war and violence — "Our weapons are *not* carnal, but spiritual:" we wield no other sword than "the sword of the Spirit;" we encounter the foes of freedom with "the word of God," whilst our feet are shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, our breasts covered with the shield of faith, our heads with the helmet of salvation. We need no other armor, for this is a moral conflict, and we know that "Truth is mighty and will prevail."

V. NORTHERN WOMEN APOLOGIZE FOR THE SIN OF SLAVERY.

Many have no correct views of the height and depth, the length and breadth, and innumerable horrors of this enormous system of crime. They too easily allow themselves to be persuaded of the mildness of American slavery, by those who go to the South, *not* to search out the hidden works of darkness, *not* to visit the sighing captive in the house of his bondage; but to make their fortunes, and to sit in the drawing-rooms of the rich and the great. Such see no more of the internal machinery of slavery, than the man who goes to the theatre and sits in the pit or the boxes sees of what passes behind the curtain. Some of us have been *behind* the scenes of the South, and we feel it to be an imperative duty to assure you that slavery is a whited sepulchre, which, however fair and beautiful it may outwardly appear, is nevertheless "full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness." We entreat you, therefore, no longer to apologize for slavery, for we feel assured that in so doing you are helping to deceive the North as to the real state of things in the slave States, and to paralyze her moral energies — to rivet the chains of the colored man, and to blind the eyes and steel the heart of the master to his highest interests and monstrous obligations.

VI. NORTHERN WOMEN HAVE DEEP-ROOTED PREJUDICES
AGAINST OUR COLORED BRETHREN AND SISTERS.

They gravely talk of their intellectual inferiority and their physical organization, as sufficient reasons why they never should be permitted to rise to an equality with the whites in this country, forgetting that they have not yet proved the position assumed with regard to mental inferiority. This we utterly deny, and appeal to history and facts to show that the colored is equal in capacity to the white man.

Intellect of the colored man.—The honorable Alexander H. Everett, in a speech delivered in Boston about ten years ago, says, “Trace this very civilization of which we are so proud to its origin, and see where you will find it. We received it from our European ancestors—they had it from the Greeks and Romans, and the Jews. But where did the Greeks, and the Romans, and the Jews get it? They derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt—in one word, from Africa. Moses, we are told, was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The founders of the principal Grecian cities, such as Athens, Thebes and Delphi, came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards their descendants returned to that country, as the source and centre of civilization. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time—Herodotus, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, and the rest—made their noble voyages of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany and Italy. . . . Well, sir, who were the Egyptians? They were Africans. And of what race? It is sometimes pretended that, though Africans and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history, who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Herodotus tells us they were black with curled hair. . . . It seems, therefore, that for this very civilization of which we are so proud, and which is the only ground of our present claim of superiority, we are indebted to the ancestors of these very blacks, whom we are pleased to consider as naturally incapable of civilization. And it is worth while Mr. President, to remark,

that the prejudice which is commonly entertained in this country, and which does not exist to anything like the same extent in Europe, against the color of the blacks, seems to have grown out of the unnatural position which they occupy among us. At the period to which I have just alluded, when the *blacks took precedence of the whites* in civilization, science and political power, no such prejudice appears to have existed."

In this extract from Alexander H. Everett, the most unexceptionable evidence seems to be afforded as to the intellectual capacity of the colored man. And in speaking of the doctrine of his mental imbecility, he says, "I reject with contempt and indignation this miserable heresy." Dr. J. Mason Good also spurns the idea of his inferiority, and thinks "that of all the arguments which have ever been offered to support the doctrine of different species, *this is the feeblest and most superficial.*" "It may," says he, "suit the narrow purposes of a slave merchant—of a trafficker in human nerves and muscles; it may suit *their* purpose to introduce such a distinction into their creed and to let it constitute the whole of their creed; but it is a distinction too trifling and evanescent to claim the notice of a physiologist for a moment."

Blumenbach, of Germany, had a private library composed entirely of works written by colored men; but it has been the policy of Americans to exclude such books from our public and private collections of taste and talent—at least, so far as we have been able to ascertain.

In a sermon preached about thirty years since by Dr. Griffin, late President of Williams College, in which he endeavors to refute the false and malicious assertions relative to the inferiority of the colored man, he says, "Passing by many ancient Ethiopians, to whom I have only seen a reference, and some instances of energy and prowess in the field, I have arranged the names of more than fifty negroes and mulattoes which are worthy to be preserved from oblivion. Among these, I could show you a handsome portrait painter*—a distinguished physician†—skillful navigators‡—and useful ministers of religion.§

* Cugoano, once a slave. — † James Durham, also at one time a slave. — ‡ Paul Cuffee and G. Vassa. — § Capetein and others.

I could show you those who could repeat from memory the Koran,* and those who without rules and figures could perform the most difficult calculations with the rapidity of thought.† I could show you those who are skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; and an instance or two, I might add, of Arabic and Chaldaic. I could show you teachers of the Latin language, a teacher of mathematics,‡ and a publisher of almanacs.§ I could show you poets — authors of letters,|| histories, memoirs,¶ — essays,** petitions to legislative bodies,†† and Latin verses and dissertations.‡‡ I could show you a man “of great wisdom and profound knowledge, several who were truly learned, and one who gave private lectures on philosophy at a university.§§ I could show you members of the universities of Cambridge, Leyden and Wittemburg. I could show you one who took the degree of doctor of philosophy, and was raised to the chair of a professor in one of the first universities of Europe; another who was corresponding member of the French Academy;||| and a third who was an associate of the National Institute of France. I could show you one who for many ages has been surnamed in Arabia the Wise, and whose authority Mahomet himself frequently appealed to in the Koran, in support of his own opinion. I could show you men of wealth and active benevolence: here a sable Howard spending his life in visiting prisons, to relieve and reclaim the wretched tenants, and consecrating all his property to charitable uses;¶¶ there another founding a hospital for poor negroes and mulattoes, and devoting his life and fortune to their comfort for more than forty years.*** In another place, a third, making distant and expensive voyages to promote the improvement of his brethren and the colonization of Africa.†††”

We hope, dear sisters, that we shall be excused for dwelling so long on the intellectual capacity of the colored man: we have done so, because we believe it is of vital importance to his interest, that the ungenerous and

* Stedman mentions one. — † Thomas Fuller and others. — ‡ Francis Williams. § Bannaker, a slave. — || Sancho. — ¶ Vassa. — ** Othello — †† Sancho. ‡‡ Capitein and Williams. — §§ Anthony William Amo. — ||| L. Islet Geoffroy. ¶¶ Joseph Rachel. — *** Jazmin Thomazeau. — ††† Paul Cuffee.

unfounded aspersions of his enemies should be completely refuted, in order that all pretexts for treating him as an inferior should be entirely destroyed. We must remember, that if in this country he has not risen to an equality with the whites, it is solely because he has not had the same advantages. In schools for colored children, we have witnessed the same ability and anxiety to learn ; and our experience is not only corroborated by the testimony of many living teachers, but by that of Anthony Benezet, who had the honor of being the first individual in America who opened a school for colored children. He says, "I can with truth declare, that among my negro scholars I have found *as great a variety of talent* as among the like number of whites ;" and then proceeds to assign the reason *why we* regard them as our inferiors : "and I am bold to assert, that the notion of their inferiority is a *vulgar prejudice*, founded on the *pride* of those who keep them at so great a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them."

We are, however, often told that those colored men who have excelled in intellect, are not black, and that their superiority arises from a mixture with the white race. The testimony of the Abbe Gregoire, who wrote a book on the intellect of negroes, is directly contrary to this opinion ; he says, "the number of negro writers is *greater* than that of mulattoes." And Wadstrom, who travelled extensively in Africa, thought the blacks *superior* to the whites, for says he, "the intellect of Africans is *so far from being of an inferior order*, that one finds it difficult to account for their acuteness which so far transcends their means of improvement."*

But what further evidence of the intellectual capacities of colored men do we need, than the attainments of those who are now living in our free States, and occupying the station of ministers of the gospel. Let any one who counts them inferior, only go and hear a Cornish, a Raymond, a Wright and a Williams, of New-York ; a Charleton, of Virginia ; a Meacham, of St. Louis ; a Graham, of Nashville ; a Small, of Boston, or a Gardner and a Douglass,

* This testimony is very valuable, because he had previously kept a school for whites.

of Philadelphia, and we feel assured he will be ashamed of ever having entertained an opinion so unjust to them, and so derogatory to his own heart and head. We cannot appeal to the abilities of our colored brethren here as lawyers, physicians and statesmen, but why? It is *not* because *they could not fill* such stations among us, had they the same advantages which white men enjoy, but simply because American prejudice has closed the doors of our literary institutions against them, and pertinaciously refused to grant them the privilege of drinking freely from that river of knowledge which flows so abundantly throughout our borders. But we can point you to the West-India islands, first to Hayti, whose government was organized by colored men, among whom Touissant L'Ouverture shines pre-eminent as a statesman, as well as a warrior, and which has been for more than 30 years entirely under their control. We will next point you to the island of St. Thomas, a Danish island, where slavery still exists, and yet the aid-de-camp of the governor-general of all the Danish West-Indies, is a colored man, who it is supposed is the wealthiest man in the island, being worth a million, which vast sum he made by merchandize. In the island of St. Christopher, the proportion of colored members in the Assembly is increasing every year; it is supposed that at least one eighth of the present Assembly are colored men. Several of the special magistrates are colored men. The editor of the "St. Christopher Weekly Intelligencer and Advertiser," is a colored man, who has been a bold advocate of liberal principles. He is described as a thorn in the side of the planters, and a great blessing to the island. In the island of Dominica, four or five of the members of the Assembly are colored men. In Antigua there is now a colored methodist minister, who is represented by a planter who is well acquainted with the clergymen of the island, as the most clear and logical reasoner and finished writer among them. In Jamaica, out of five representatives from the town of Kingston, four of them are colored; and a colored lawyer lately died in this island, who was acknowledged to be an ornament to his profession. Many other instances of talent and worth and

wealth might be adduced; but it seems impossible after all which has been said, any doubt can remain on your minds as to the equality of the colored with the white man. To the above instances we would add that of James McCune Smith, who after being cast out of the seminaries of learning in this Republican Despotism, was received into the University of Glasgow, where he has recently graduated and taken the highest honor, though he competed with hundreds of *white* men.

Now, beloved sisters, what do you say to these proofs of the intellectual abilities of our colored brethren? Can you *rejoice* to find that you were mistaken in your opinion of their inferiority? Are you ready to extend to them the hand of a sister; to welcome them upon that platform of equal rights, social, civil and religious, on which they are as much entitled to stand erect as any white man in our land?

Physical Organization. But we will now endeavor to answer the second objection urged against the colored man's equality, which is his physical organization. He has a black, or it may be a yellow skin. From these peculiarities, it is argued that he belongs to a *different race*. This we confess we cannot understand, if the Bible account of man's creation is authentic; for there we are told that Eve was the "mother of all living." There can therefore be but *one race* of human beings, as they have all sprung from one common parentage. This holy book speaks of different nations, people, kindreds, and tongues, but tells us nothing of different *races*; so far from it that it expressly declares "God hath made of one blood all the nations, to dwell on all the face of the earth." But there are others who gravely tell us that Noah was the second father of mankind, and that he had three sons, one of whom was white, one red, and one black, and that from them have descended the varieties of the human family: This is an assertion without proof, and it does appear to us to be a very absurd one, as learned physiologists all agree in the opinion, that difference of color is produced by climate, food, &c. Buffon says that "man though white in Europe, black in Africa, yellow in Asia, and red in America, is still *the same*

animal, tinged only with the *color* of the *climate*." It appears self-evident then, that Noah's sons were of but one complexion, when they separated after the flood, to people the three then known continents, and that the color of their descendants has been produced by the difference of climate into which they emigrated. "No matter what the original complexion of the emigrants to any country may have been, it is always found to accommodate itself to the hue peculiar to that country or climate. Hence the Jews, who were doubtless originally all of the *same* complexion, and who never intermarry with the nations among whom they sojourn, are found to be *white* in Germany and Poland, *swarthy* in Spain and Portugal, *olive* in the Barbary states and Egypt, and *black* in Hindoostan. And hence a colony of Ethiopians, who settled at Colchis on the Black Sea, 2,000 years ago, have now become white, and the Portuguese who settled 200 years since on the coast of Africa, black."

"But still we shall be asked, if color be the effect of climate, why the negroes born in the United States are not white? We answer, that it should be remembered, ours 'is *not* the *native climate* of the *white* man.' The copper color is that which is incident to this climate, therefore it would be very unnatural for the black man to turn white on our shores.

The learned professor of Gottengen remarks, that in Guinea, not only men, but dogs, birds, and particularly the gallinaceous tribe, are black; whilst near the frozen seas, bears and other animals are white. Here it may be asked why are not men who live under the same parallels of latitude in Africa and America of the same color. We reply that climate does not depend entirely upon latitude, but very materially upon the face of a country also. In Africa a vast extent of sandy desert stretches across that continent, which renders the reflection of the sun's rays far more intense than it can be in America, where the surface is broken by mountains and hills covered with verdure, and diversified and cooled by lakes and rivers. The products of these two countries are also different, and therefore the food of the inhabitants is dissimilar. Hence even in Africa, the inhabitants of the

mountain and the plain differ greatly in their complexions. This will be fully understood when we remember that the sun's rays have no heat until they have come in contact with the earth's surface, from the diversified reflecting power of which, our atmosphere derives its comparative degrees of heat.

The simple reason which the Bible assigns for the color of black in the human species is truly philosophical. "Look not upon me," said the bride in Canticles, "because I am *black*, for the sun hath looked upon me." Her blackness was occasioned by the intense heat of a tropical sun, and so is the African's.

If then the black skin is *not* the mark of a distinct *race*, but merely the peculiarity incident to climate and food, what shall we say about it—how shall we regard it? As an insuperable barrier between our colored brethren and sisters and ourselves—as a sufficient reason for their being deprived of valuable privileges and social enjoyments among us—or a trivial distinction, as unworthy of our notice as the difference of color in the hair and the eyes of our fairer companions and friends? Is it not wonderful and humiliating to us as Republicans and Christians, that we should ever have made the sinful distinctions and silly assertions which we have, because some of our fellow-creatures wear a skin not colored like our own? Let the time past then suffice, and let us now resolve to do all we can in vindicating the character of our colored brethren from the unjust aspersions which the world and the church have united in heaping upon them. Women ought to feel a peculiar sympathy in the colored man's wrongs, for, like him, *she* has been accused of mental inferiority, and denied the privileges of a liberal education.

VII. NORTHERN WOMEN ARE LENDING THEIR AID TO THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

If the advocates of this scheme would only call it by its true name, the EXPATRIATION Society, we would be spared the trouble of entering into an explanation of its character and objects. But the very fact of its having been clothed with the mantle of benevolence, is a power-

ful reason why we should attempt to exhibit it, just in that light which its own friends and advocates have thrown upon it, in their public speeches and its official documents.

Before enumerating our reasons for condemning the principles of this society, we will give some little account of its origin. As early as the year 1777, Jefferson formed a plan for colonizing the free colored population of the United States, on some of the western vacant lands ; but it proved a failure. In 1787, Dr. Thornton, of Washington, formed another scheme to effect the same purpose on the western coast of Africa, and published an address to the colored people residing in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him. A sufficient number agreed to go, and were prepared for the expedition; but this project likewise failed for want of funds. About the year 1800 or 1801, soon after the insurrection of Gabriel, at Richmond, Virginia, the impulse of fear prompted another effort to throw from our shores the free people of color, and any slaves who might be suspected of insurrectionary intentions. The Legislature of Virginia, in secret session, instructed Mr. Monroe, then Governor of the State, to apply to the President of the United States, and urge him to institute negociations with some of the powers of Europe, possessed of colonies on the coast of Africa, to grant an asylum, to which our emancipated negroes might be sent. Mr. Jefferson opened a negociation with the Sierra Leone Company, for that purpose, but without success. He subsequently applied to the Government of Portugal, but failed. The project was then abandoned, as hopeless. In the Legislature of Virginia of 1816, the subject was again brought forward, and the following resolution was adopted by a large majority: "Resolved, that the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the States or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within the common-

wealth, and that the senators and representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object."

This resolution was passed in the Virginia House of Delegates, some time before the formation in the city of Washington of the American Colonization Society. The origin of this society is thus spoken of in a memorial presented by the managers of the Colonization Society to Congress in 1817: "The design of this institution, the committee are apprized, *originated* in the disclosure of the secret resolutions of prior legislatures of that State; to which may also be ascribed, it is understood, the renewal of their obvious purpose in the resolution subjoined to this report — a resolution which was first adopted by the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the 14th December 1816, with an unanimity which denoted the deep interest that it inspired; and which openly manifested to the world a steady adherence to the humane policy which had secretly animated the same councils at a much earlier period. This brief, but correct history of the origin of the American Colonization Society, evinces that it sprang from a deep solicitude for *Southern* interest, and *among those* most competent to discern and promote them," *i. e.* among *slaveholders*. The African Repository informs us, that at its formation, *every* one who spoke was a slaveholder. In an address of the Rockbridge (Virginia) Colonization Society, published in Vol. IV. p. 274, we find this assertion: "About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men in the nation, *mostly slaveholders*, formed in the city of Washington the present American Colonization Society." Its first president, Bushrod Washington, was a slaveholder all his life, and *during his continuance in office* sold fifty-four human beings, who were driven off in chains to Louisiana.

From that time to the present, it has been principally managed by slaveholders. We make this assertion on the authority of the African Repository, the official organ of the Colonization Society; which, in speaking of the members of the society, repeatedly asserts that they are "mostly slaveholders"—"chiefly slaveholders"—"by

far the larger part citizens of slaveholding States;" and that "from the first it obtained its *most decided* and efficient support from the slaveholding States." Charles Carroll, its second president, who signed the declaration that all men are created free and equal, died owning near one thousand slaves. Its third president, James Madison, also died a slaveholder; and its fourth president, Henry Clay, is now a slaveholder. This society, then, originated in the Ancient Dominion, in the midst of slavery; and its members and publications have again and again urged the fact of their being slaveholders as an incontrovertible evidence of their peculiar fitness to manage its concerns, and their claims to Southern confidence and Southern aid. Thus, in the *African Repository*, Vol. VII. p. 100, we find the following: "Being *mostly slaveholders ourselves* having a *common interest with you* on this subject, an equal opportunity of understanding it, and the *same motives* to prudent action, what better guaranty can be afforded for the just discrimination and the safe operation of our measures." The league, then, which has been formed between the colonizationist and the slaveholder seems to us to be as close as that which existed between Jehoram and Jehoshaphat, when the latter said unto the former, "I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses." Read now our objections, and judge for yourselves whether this assertion be not true. We condemn it —

I. Because it surrenders the great principle, that man cannot justly hold man as property, and regards the wresting of the slaves from their masters as great an outrage as the invasion of their right of property in houses, cattle, and land. To substantiate this charge, we quote from the *African Repository*, Vol. I. p. 283: "We hold their *slaves* as we hold their other property *SACRED*." In Vol. II. p. 13, we find these words: "Does this society wish to meddle with our slaves as our *rightful property*? I answer, *no* — I think not." And in a speech delivered by Henry Clay he said, "It was proper again and again to repeat, that it was far from the intention of the society to *affect in any manner* the tenure by which a *certain species of property is held*." He was himself a slaveholder; and he consid-

ered that kind of property as inviolable as any other in the country.

II. Because it not only is *not* hostile to slavery, but in its reports and in its official organ, and by its auxiliary societies and principal supporters, exonerates slaveholders from guilt, and represents their *criminality* as their *misfortune*. In the seventh vol. of the African Repository, are these declarations: "It (the society) *condemns no man because he is a slaveholder*"—p. 200. "They (the abolitionists) confound the *misfortunes* of one generation with the *crimes* of another, and would sacrifice both individual and public good to an *unsubstantial theory of the rights of man*"—p. 202. From the Second Annual Report of the New-York State Colonization Society, we extract the following exculpation of slaveholders: "The existence of slavery among us, though *not at all* to be objected to our Southern brethren as a *fault*, is yet a blot on our national character," &c.

III. Because it openly, actively, uncompromisingly denounced the immediate abolition of slavery as injustice to the masters, a calamity to the slaves, dangerous to society, and contrary to the requirements of Christianity. We prove this assertion by an extract from the First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Colonization Society: "The inhabitants of the South cannot and *ought not* suddenly to emancipate their slaves to remain among them free. Such a measure would be *no blessing* to the slaves, but the very madness of self-destruction to the whites." In Vol. III. of the African Repository, p. 97, are these words: "The scope of the society is large enough, but it is in no wise mingled and confounded with the broad sweeping views of a *few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the total abolition of slavery."

IV. Because it formally lays down the doctrine that it is *not* incumbent on all oppressors to do justly and love mercy *now*, and that it is proper to cease from robbery and sin by a slow process. In Vol. V. of the African Repository, is this sentiment, p. 329: "Were the very spirit of angelic charity to pervade and fill the hearts of all the slaveholders in our land, it would *by no means* require that all the slaves should be instantaneously liberated."

V. Because it confesses that its measures are calculated to secure the slave-system from destruction—to remove the apprehensions of slaveholders—to increase the value of slave property—and thus to perpetuate the thralldom of native Americans. John Randolph, in a speech delivered at the first meeting of the Colonization Society, remarked, “So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measures proposed *would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.*” In the third volume of the African Repository, we find the following: “To remove these people (free colored persons) from among us, will *increase the usefulness* and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and with whose labors the country is unable to dispense.” And in Vol. II. p. 344: “THE EXECUTION OF ITS SCHEME WOULD AUGMENT, INSTEAD OF DIMINISHING, THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND.”

VI. Because it positively denies that it has any reference to the work of emancipation. In a speech of James S. Green, published with the First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Colonization Society, is this explicit avowal: “Our society, and the friends of colonization, wish to be distinctly understood upon this point. From the beginning they have *DISAVOWED*, and they do yet *disavow*, that their object is *the emancipation of the slaves.*” In the third Vol. of the African Repository, p. 197, this official organ of the society declares, “*It is no abolition society: it addresses as yet arguments to no master, and disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave. It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or gradual.*” And again: “The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced *wholly* the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point, they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. *Into their account the subject of Emancipation does not enter at all.*”—p. 306.

VII. Because it holds that slaveholders are such from necessity,—that the oppressive laws which are enacted against the free colored and slave population are justified by sound policy, and that it is wrong to increase the number of the free blacks by emancipation. We quote now

from the North American Review of July, 1832 : "Thousands are connected with the system of slavery from *necessity*, and not from choice. . . . The vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a PATRIOTISM AND A PHILANTHROPY which look beyond the bound of their particular district and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act." And in the Ninth Annual Report of the Colonization Society we find the following declaration with regard to the oppressive laws against the people of color: "Such, unhappily, is the case : but there is a *necessity* for it ; and so long as they remain among us, will that necessity continue."

VIII. Because it denies the power of the Gospel to overcome prejudice, and maintains that no moral or educational means can ever raise the colored population from their degradation to respectability and usefulness *in this country*. By inculcating this monstrous doctrine, it measurably paralyzes in the breasts of those who embrace it all efforts to improve the character and condition of this depressed and injured class. The following may be found in the African Repository, Vol. IV. pp. 118, 119 : "In every part of the United States, there is a broad and *impassable* line of demarcation between every one who has *one drop* of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society — prejudices which neither *refinement*, nor *argument*, nor education, NOR RELIGION ITSELF, can subdue — mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable and incurable*. The African belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society ; and from that station HE CAN NEVER RISE, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may. . . . They constitute a class by themselves — a class out of which *no individual can be elevated*, and below which none can be depressed."

IX. Because, while it professes to remove those emigrants only who go "with *their own consent*" to Africa, it is the instrument of a cruel persecution against the free people of color, by its abuse of their character, representing them as seditious, dangerous and useless. It

contends, moreover, that emancipation should not take place without the simultaneous expatriation of the liberated — thus leaving to the slave the choice of *banishment* or *perpetual servitude*. In the *African Repository*, Vol. II. p. 138, the following sentiment is found: “No scheme of abolition will meet any support that leaves the emancipated blacks among us.” In Vol. III. p. 26, “*We would say, liberate them only on condition of their going to Africa.*” In Vol. IV. p. 226, “*I am not complaining of the owners of slaves: it would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage, as to set them free in our country.*” And on p. 300, “*A scheme of emancipation without colonization (i. e. expatriation) they know, and see, and feel to be productive of nothing but evil; evil to all whom it affects — to the white population, to the slaves, to the manumitted themselves.*”

X. Because it is held in abhorrence by the free people of color, wherever they possess the liberty of speech and the means of intelligence, as a scheme full of evil to themselves and to their enslaved brethren. This may be amply proved, by quoting resolutions passed at hundreds of meetings held by them to protest against the scheme of expatriation many years BEFORE any Anti-Slavery society was ever formed in this country. We will transcribe but one, which we regard as a noble specimen of that true elevation of moral feeling to which many of our colored brethren have attained, notwithstanding the withering, crushing influence of prejudice in this land: “Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country: they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.”

XI. Our last objection is founded on the fact, that this society, although it professes to be the greatest friend of the colored people, is exerting no influence to produce a correct public sentiment with regard to their rights in this the land of their birth. Far otherwise; their love is a love to get rid of them — a love to keep them low in the dust under the feet of oppression and the scowl of contempt and the ban of a separate and inferior caste, as long

as they remain in *their own native* America. Of the principles of Colonization, then, we fully and freely express our entire disapprobation. We believe them to be utterly unchristian — calculated alike to foster the feelings of pride and prejudice in the aristocracy of the North, and the unjust, unreasonable oppression of our colored brethren and sisters — and to blind the eyes, sear the conscience, and steel the heart of the slaveholder at the South.

The effect which this scheme is to produce upon Africa is quite another thing : were that influence ever so favorable, our opinion of its *principles* and its tendency to strengthen the unholy feeling of prejudice in the United States must remain the same. An immense amount of evil has been done here : our colored brethren have entreated and protested in vain — they have lifted up their voices in vain, and besought Colonizationists to spare them the abuse which they have heaped upon their defenceless heads — to roll back from off their prostrate bodies and minds the ponderous wheels of that American Juggernaut, Prejudice, which their hands have dragged over them by incessantly preaching up the doctrine that “ *they never can rise* ” in this country, and that *even religion itself* cannot subdue in the hearts of Americans that hatred of the colored man which now fills their bosoms.

We consider it our duty, then, solemnly to protest against the influence of colonization principles on the free and the bond in our land, and to urge our sisters to examine them for themselves, and to judge for themselves whether they are not evil, unsound, and unsustainable on the broad basis of human rights and Christian love. To those who justify this scheme on the ground of its evangelizing Africa, we would point to this emphatic, tremendous declaration of the Apostle Paul when vindicating the purity of Christian principles from the false accusations of his enemies, some of whom affirmed that the apostles said, “ *let us do evil that good may come, whose condemnation is just.* ”

We would, then, turn to the effects which colonization has already produced on Africa. Its deleterious influence on that devoted country had become so manifest to the English philanthropists that Dr. Philip was recalled from

South Africa, that he might lay before the British public the working of this system *on the natives*. From a speech delivered by him in Exeter Hall, we copy the following:

“The system has been put into operation and supported by the nations of Europe, to the manifest *injury of the natives of America, Africa, and other parts of the world.*” After noticing some of these, the Doctor preceeded, “In the beginning of the last century the European colony in Africa was confined to within a few miles of Cape Town. From that period it has advanced till it now includes many more square miles than are to be found in England, Scotland and Ireland. (If a traveller who had visited that country twenty-five years ago, were to take his stand on the banks of the Koiskama river, and ask what had become of the natives whom he saw there on his former visit; if he took his stand on the banks of the Sunday river, and looked forward to a country seventy miles in breadth before him, he might ask the same question; if he were to take his stand again on the Fish river, and there extend his views to Caffraria, he might ask the same question; and were he to take his stand upon the snow mountains called Craaff Reinēt, (he would have before him a country containing 40,000 square miles,) — and ask where was the immense concourse that he saw there twenty-five years ago, no man could tell him where they were.”)

In Zion's Watchman, we find the succeeding remarks on this extract, and as they contain our own views and give some interesting facts relative to Liberia, which are not generally known, we have inserted them without any alteration.

“A fine illustration this, of the benefits of colonization to the *natives* of any country? It shows that colonization is only another name for extermination. As long as human wickedness is what it is, such will ever be the result. Such it ever has been. ‘You can't civilize the Hottentots,’ was the doctrine of South Africa. ‘An Indian will be an Indian—you can't civilize him,’ was the doctrine in the United States; and accordingly the natives have melted away and been destroyed in both cases, just in proportion as the tide of colonization has moved onward. Such,

too, thus far, has been, as a matter-of-fact, the result at Liberia. To this moment there has been no amalgamation of the natives and colonists. On the contrary, the same line of distinction and the same separate interests and mutual jealousies exist there as have existed in other cases. The colonists are called by the natives, 'Mericans,' their customs, 'Merica man's fash.' Governor Pinney himself, (see letter some three years since,) declared that 'the natives are; as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the colonists as the negro in America is to the white man — and this fact, added to their mode of dress, leads to the same distinction as exists in America between colors,' so that 'a colonist of any dye, (and many Southern are of a darker hue than the Vey, or Dey, or Croo, or Bassoo,) would, if at all respectable, think himself *degraded* by marrying a native; the missionaries of the American Board, Wilson and Wynkoop, (Missionary Herald, June, 1834,) select the site for the 'mission settlement' half a mile from the colonial settlement; 'and then,' say they, 'we took all the pains we could to impress the mind of the king and his people with the fact, that the mission is to be entirely distinct from the colony, and will be identified with the interests of the natives,' as if it were vain to secure their confidence, so strong their jealousies and so separate their interests from those of the colonists, except by taking *sides* with them; and finally, in August, 1835, (note African Repository, May, 1836,) we find the citizens of Monrovia enacting as a law, 'that all Kroomen residing at Kroo-town, on that side of the Mesurado river, shall pay annually to the town of Monrovia the sum of one dollar and fifty cents, and do *any* kind of fatigue duty required by the president of the town council; and further, that all Kroomen coming there to reside 'shall report themselves within five days to the president of the town council, and receive a certificate granting them *permission* to reside (not in Monrovia but even) in Kroo-town — for which they shall pay the sum of one dollar and fifty cents; and all neglecting to comply with this resolution shall, on conviction, pay the sum of two dollars, and leave the settlement; and in case of failure to pay the fine, shall be

compelled to do public labor until the fine is satisfied ;' and not these only, but ' that all *other* natives, not in the employment of the colonists of the town, *shall* when called upon by proper authority, do fatigue duty of ANY NATURE that may be assigned them ;' thus, instead of amalgamating them with the colony, they are branding them as a suspected and servile class, and giving their president the semi-power of a slaveholder.

" Now, be it remembered, (see Phillip's South Africa,) that all this is the very kind of encroachment which marked the early history of colonization in South Africa. A more perfect counterpart could not be found. But with such a beginning, and proceeding as it did from bad to worse, why was it that colonization there did not long ago result in the utter extermination of the natives? Simply and only because that colony was under the control of a *home government*, and was to some extent restricted in its powers of mischief. With no restriction whatever, then, of this kind, what will — nay, what must be; the end of such a beginning in Liberia? Evil, and evil only, and evil continually; and if the gospel makes progress among the natives, it will be only by the instrumentality of those who keep ' entirely distinct from the colony, and identified with the interests of the natives,' and who do what they do, not by the help, but in spite of the influence of the colony. Such has been the case in South Africa — and such, as the facts already show, must be the case in Liberia."

If, then, colonization has already proved such a curse to Africa, and if Liberia is treading in the footsteps of the colonies which preceded her; if the missionary is indeed compelled to plant the standard of the cross *beyond* the limits of Cape Palmas, and to *disavow all connection with it*; how can we possibly flatter ourselves any longer with the delusive hope that the land of Ham will be evangelized by colonization, particularly when we remember that according to the declaration of colonizationists, these very colonists are " a nuisance from which it were a blessing to be free," " *the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable.*"

But here we shall be met with the assertion, that these

colonies will put an end to the slave trade. What have they done towards the attainment of this object? We here copy from the most favorable account which we have seen of the state of the colonies, contained in an official communication to the Secretary of the Navy from Capt. Joseph J. Nicholson, of the Navy, dated January 8th, 1837. "The slave-trade within the last three years has seriously injured the colony. Not only has it diverted the industry of the natives, but it has effectually cut off the communication with the interior. WITHIN A YEAR FOUR SLAVE FACTORIES HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED ALMOST WITHIN SIGHT OF THE COLONY." — [Bassa Cove.]

"And what assurance have we that the colony itself when grown up and independent will not follow the example of Christian Maryland, and the Christian capital of our own Christian land, and set up a trade in the bodies and souls of its own citizens or in the "menials" that it may buy of the heathen? In doing so, it would only imitate the example of the honorable Bushrod Washington, the first president of the Colonization Society, who sold a large number of slaves into the hopeless bondage of the South." We doubt not that such will actually be the case in Liberia, unless a correct public sentiment is created by anti-slavery efforts and anti-slavery principles, which will throw a healthful influence over the colony before it becomes strong enough to govern itself. Colonization principles could not certainly pacify public opinion there any more than it has done it here; and if slavery is a *necessary* evil in America, why may it not be a *necessary* evil in Africa? If the society condemns no man for being a slaveholder here, how could it possibly condemn any of the colonists for holding slaves there? The holy principles of truth change not with climate nor with color nor with circumstance, but are, like their great Author, the *same yesterday, to-day and forever*; the same on the hill-tops and green valleys of America, and the sickly shores and sandy deserts of Africa. O! then our sisters, for the sake of the slave, whose condition as *property* is rendered *more secure* by colonization, according to the showing of the society itself; for the sake of the free people of color, whose hopes of usefulness and respecta-

bility in *their own native land*, are completely blasted by the vituperation and slanders which are heaped upon them by its advocates ; for the sake of the manumitted slave, to whom is offered the sad alternative of *exile or bondage*, and for the sake of our white brethren and sisters in whose hearts the weed of prejudice grows with frightful luxuriance, nursed by the transplanting hand of colonization — O! for the sake of the bond and the free, the colored and the white, we beseech you to pause and reflect, and pray over this subject, before you any longer throw your influence into the scale of unholy prejudice and cruel expatriation, rather than into that of human rights and Christian philanthropy. We pray you give no countenance to a society which seeks to banish our free colored citizens from *their own country*. Do not admit for a moment that they have “no right to live in the white man’s home-*stead*,” as colonizationists have denominated the United States. But on the contrary, let us openly and constantly plead their cause, assert their rights as Americans, and do all that we can to produce that correct public sentiment which will throw open our literary institutions to them, and that spirit of true repentance which will induce us as a nation to nurse and cherish in the bosom of fraternal love these trembling injured outcasts of society. Let us protest against that cruelty which would cast our brethren on the barbarous and sickly shores of Africa, and that strange philanthropy which, while it builds a college in Liberia, refuses to grant to the colored man in this country the privileges of a liberal education. Let us then endeavor to hasten the time when “for their shame they shall have double, and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion.”

VIII. THE COLORED WOMEN OF THE NORTH ARE OPPRESSED.

The eighth reason we would urge for the interference of northern women with the system of slavery is, that in consequence of the odium which the degradation of slavery has attached to *color* even in the free States, our *colored sisters* are dreadfully oppressed here. Our semina-

ries of learning are closed to them,* they are almost entirely banished from our lecture rooms, and even in the house of God they are separated from their white brethren and sisters as though we were afraid to come in contact with a colored skin. Listen now to the sad experience of one of these oppressed and injured ones. We quote from a letter recently received from a colored young woman of a neighboring city. "For the last three years of my life, I can truly say, my soul has hungered and thirsted after knowledge, and I have looked to the right hand and to the left, but there was none to give me food. Prejudice has strictly guarded every avenue to science and cruelly repulsed all my efforts to gain admittance to her presence." Hear, too, her description of her feelings in attending a place of worship in this city. "I have been to meeting to-day, and can say of a truth, it was good to be there, for the Master of assemblies was present and the broad wing of his love rested on us as a canopy. Notwithstanding I am so often blessed in going to meeting, I find it a grievous cross. My heart sinks within me at times when I look round me and do not see one familiar face, and feel that *I am despised for my complexion* and perhaps considered as an intruder."

Here, then, are some of the bitter fruits of that inveterate prejudice which the vast proportion of northern women are cherishing towards their colored sisters; and let us remember that every one of us who denies the sinfulness of this prejudice, under the false pretext of its being "an ordination of Providence" "no more to be changed than the laws of nature," and fixed beyond the control of any human power; yea, a feeling which "*religion itself cannot subdue*;" every one of us who make these colonization excuses for hugging to our bosoms the viper which strikes such deadly stings into the very hearts of our oppressed sisters, is awfully guilty in the sight of Him who

* To the honor of Oberlin Institution, we would say that it is a noble exception to the ban of proscription which denies to our sisters the privilege of obtaining a liberal education in our high schools. It stands erect in our land like a pillar of marble bearing on its capital these words, "Of all monopolies a monopoly of knowledge is the worst. Let it be as active as the ocean, as free as the wind, as universal as the sunbeams." It is a city set upon a hill in the midst of this "hypocritical nation." A light revealing that prejudice which hangs like a dark cloud over the literary institutions of the "Freest Government in the world."

is no respecter of persons. If it be a sin to despise the man clothed in vile raiment, and to say to such an one "stand thou there or sit here under my footstool," how much greater must be the crime of despising our sister because *God has clothed her* in a darker skin than our own. How solemn the reflection, that "Whoso oppresseth the poor *reproacheth his Maker.*" Yes, our sisters, little as we may be willing to admit it, yet it is assuredly true, that whenever we treat a colored brother or sister in a way different from that in which we would treat them were they white, we do virtually *reproach our Maker* for having dyed their skins of a sable hue.

IX. TRUE CAUSE OF THE INCREASE OF PREJUDICE.

It is said that this prejudice has increased to a dreadful extent since Anti-Slavery Societies were formed in our country, and we are often told that upon *us* must rest all the blame. Now we contend that the victims of this prejudice are the very best judges of this matter, and we appeal to the sister from whose letters we have already quoted, to know what are the views of the colored people with regard to it. In another letter she says, "They know the American Colonization Society to be their *most potent enemy* at home, they feel its iron grasp upon their necks, pressing them to the very dust, and behold with horror and dismay *that prejudice grows more fierce and bitter wherever its influence is felt.*" And again, in a letter of a still more recent date: "I solemnly believe that the American Colonization Society is the most cruel and potent enemy of the free people of color, that it seeks to rivet faster the fetters of the slave, by driving the free people from their native land, that it originated in hatred to us, and that *it has increased prejudice a thousand fold*, by asserting that we are "too debased to be reached by heavenly light. It is sustained by constant and artful appeals to the prejudices of our white brethren and sisters, against our complexions, and we view all their proceedings with abhorrence, and receive their protestations of kindness, as the most bitter mockery." And, again, in speaking of an Anti-Slavery lecturer whom she had heard, she writes thus: "He proved so clearly *what we feel so*

deeply, that the *Colonization Society* originated in hatred to the free people of color.* Shall we refuse then, the testimony of this sufferer, shall we turn a deaf ear to her experience, when she lifts her voice in the accents of agony and warning, as to the true cause of the increase of this soul-withering prejudice. In the bitterness of her heart she exclaims, "O the guilt, the heavy load of guilt that rests on the heads of colonizationists! may God in his mercy open their eyes before it be too late. *We pity while we fear them.*"

But look at the *principles* of our two Societies, and judge for yourselves which of them would legitimately produce the monster prejudice. On the banner of one is written "*the people of color must, in this country, REMAIN FOR AGES, PROBABLY FOREVER, A SEPARATE AND INFERIOR CASTE, weighed down by causes powerful, universal, inevitable, which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove.*" On that of the other is inscribed in characters of light, "Human rights—prejudice vincible. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' If ye have respect to colors, ye commit sin." Let the swift witnesses for truth in your own bosoms decide the question.

But our colored sisters are oppressed in other ways. As they walk the streets of our cities, they are continually liable to be insulted with the vulgar epithet of "nigger;" no matter how respectable or wealthy, they cannot visit the Zoological Institute of New-York except in the capacity of nurses or servants—no matter how worthy, they cannot gain admittance into or receive assistance from any of the charities of this city. In Philadelphia, they are cast out of our Widow's Asylum, and their children are refused admittance to the House of Refuge, the Orphan's House and the Infant School connected with the Alms-House, though into these are gathered the very offscouring of our population. These are only specimens of that soul-crushing influence from which the colored women of the north are daily suffering. Then, again,

* In good keeping with this assertion we would state that when the only official agent they ever sent to England, was about to sail, a friend observed to him that he had heard of his intended visit to England. "Yes," said he, "*but I am not going out of any love to the niggers.*" Would abolitionists have sent out such an agent?

some of them have been robbed of their husbands and children by the heartless kidnapper, and others have themselves been dragged into slavery. If they attempt to travel, they are exposed to great indignities and great inconveniences. Instances have been known of their actually dying in consequence of the exposure to which they were subjected on board of our steamboats. No money could purchase the use of a berth for a delicate female because she had a colored skin. Prejudice, then, degrades and fetters the minds, persecutes and murders the bodies of our free colored sisters. Shall *we* be silent at such a time as this? shall we say prejudice is an innate feeling, implanted by God in our hearts? shall we blaspheme His holy name by saying in other words that He has taught us, yea *caused* us to hate our brother? Or shall we not rather arise in the moral strength of our womanhood and our Christianity, and cast out this foul demon from our hearts, our houses, and our churches, in the name of the Lord of light and of love?

X. THE SOUTH IS APPEALING TO THE NORTH.

The last reason we shall urge is the fact that the South is appealing to us for help in the overthrow of slavery. From the "Appeal to Christian women of the South" we learn that a lady in North Carolina made the following remark about two years ago: "Northerners know nothing at all about slavery; they think it is perpetual bondage only, but of the depth of degradation that word involves they have no conception; if they had, *they would never cease their efforts until so horrible a system was overthrown.*" Here, then, is a strong appeal to *Northerners* to put forth *their* unceasing energies to overthrow the system of Southern oppression. Those women in the slave States who are mourning over the abominations of the land, feel that a spirit of reform on this subject can no more be expected to originate among slaveholders than a temperance reform or a moral reformation among those most deeply involved in the sins of drunkenness and licentiousness. *Their appeal is to the North.* Another lady from the South, a slaveholder, who visited Philadelphia last fall, remarked to an abolitionist that, until Northern wo-

men did their duty on this great subject, it could not be expected that Southern women would do theirs. She appeared surprised at the apathy of the free States when she became acquainted with the extent to which *they* were involved in the crime of slavery ; she had never thought on these things before, and encouraged her friends, who had enlisted in the Anti-Slavery cause, saying, if you accomplish your object, you will do a great work, and be a blessing to our country. These appeals are from *Southern women* — shall we disregard them ?

We will now relate a circumstance that occurred to Theodore D. Weld, when he was lecturing in Pittsburgh, Pa. in 1835. At the close of one of his evening lectures, a man sought him through the crowd, and extending his hand to him through his friends, by whom he was surrounded, solicited him to step aside with him for a moment. After they had retired by themselves to some corner of the house, says the man, "I am a slaveholder from Maryland — *and you are right, the doctrine you advocate is the truth.*" "Why, then," said the lecturer, "do you not emancipate your slaves ?" "Because," replied the Marylander, "*I have not religion enough to*" — he was a professed Christian — "I have not sufficient moral courage to do so under the existing state of public sentiment — I dare not subject myself to the torrent of opposition which, from the present state of public sentiment, would be poured upon me ; but do you abolitionists go on, and you will effect a change in public sentiment which will render it possible and easy for us to emancipate our slaves. I know," continued he, "a great many slaveholders in my State who stand on precisely the same ground that I do in relation to this matter. *Only produce a correct public sentiment at the North, and the work is done ; for all that keeps the South in countenance while continuing this system, is the apology and argument afforded so generally by the North ; only produce a right feeling in the North generally, and the South cannot stand before it ; let the North be thoroughly converted, and the work is at once accomplished at the South.*" Another fact which may be adduced to prove that the South is looking to the North for help, is the following : At an Anti-Slavery concert of prayer for the oppressed,

held in New-York city, in 1836, a gentleman arose in the course of the meeting, declaring himself a Virginian and a slaveholder. He said he came to that city filled with the deepest prejudice against the abolitionists, by the reports given of their character in papers published at the North. But he determined to investigate their character and designs for himself. He even boarded in the family of an abolitionist, and attended the monthly concert of prayer for the slaves and the slaveholders. And now, as the result of his investigations and observations, he was convinced that *not only the spirit but the principles and measures of the abolitionists ARE RIGHTEOUS.* He was now ready to emancipate his own slaves, and had commenced advocating the doctrine of immediate emancipation — “and here,” said he, pointing to two men sitting near him, “are the first fruits of my labors — these two fellow Virginians and slaveholders are converts with myself to abolitionism. And I know a thousand Virginians who need only to be made acquainted with the true spirit and principles of abolitionists in order to their becoming converts as we are. *Let the abolitionists go on in the dissemination of their doctrines, and let the Northern papers cease to misrepresent them at the South — let the true light of abolitionism be fully shed upon the Southern mind, and the work of immediate and general emancipation will be speedily accomplished.*” — MORN. STAR.

But a still more powerful appeal has been made to us. Two of our Southern sisters who were once slaveholders, have come up from the land of worse than Egyptian bondage, and besought us as women, as Americans, as Christians, to awake from the slumber of apathy, and to rise in all the power of female influence, to the high and holy duty of rebuking the sin of oppression at the South, and the sin of prejudice at the North. Their testimony against the abominations of slavery is fully laid before the public — that testimony must be admitted, by every candid mind, to be unexceptionable ; for what but a deep and solemn sense of duty to the suffering slave could induce them to throw themselves out so prominently as witnesses against a system of which their nearest and dearest relatives are now the advocates and practical supporters? They have

declared to us that no one who has not been an *integral* part of this system, can form any idea of the wreck of temper and of morals which slavery produces. They have told us that it is not for the slave alone that they plead, but for the master and the mistress also — for the oppressor cannot wield the iron rod of his power without having his conscience seared, his heart hardened, his moral susceptibilities blunted, and his spiritual eye darkened. They have been nursed in the arms, pillowed on the bosom and cradled on the lap of slavery. They have lived from infancy up to womanhood behind that painted curtain which hangs before the scenes of private life. They tell us (and surely *they* ought to know whereof they affirm) that the folds of this tapestry are too artfully and studiously disposed by the hands of petty tyrants, to admit of the heedless glances of Northern visitors discovering the wretchedness and crime and cruelty which exists behind it. Take one single instance as an illustration. A gentleman of this city was in New-Orleans four years ago, at the time that the atrocious cruelties of Madame La Loirie were discovered and her house torn down by the mob. He said that only a few days previous to this circumstance, he had dined with that — what shall we call her? not *woman*, that were too noble a title — that *slaveholder*, and that he had not the least suspicion of those deeds of darkness and of death which were transacting even then in the garret and the cellar. The sunshine of Southern hospitality illuminated her parlor with all the light of fashionable etiquette and hollow-hearted politeness, and the sounding brass and the tinkling symbol drowned the groan of the captive sufferer and the stifled wail of the lacerated and dying slave and the clank of his fetters and the moanings which told how the iron had entered into his soul. He was the guest of the *mistress*; he sat in *her* parlor; he sat down to *her* board — and what did he know? How could he know of those hidden works of darkness which she understood as well how to *conceal* as how to *perpetrate*?

These sisters tell us that the testimony of a Northern woman, who, when she went to the South two years since, made it her business to inquire into the real condition of things, is correct. In a letter to a friend in Philadelphia,

she says, "On coming South, we found that although we had heard so much of slavery, the *half*, the *worst half* too, had never been told us ; not that we have *seen* anything of cruelty ourselves, though truly we have felt its deadening influence, and the accounts we hear from every tongue *that nobly dares to speak the truth*, are deplorable indeed." They are now in our free States, to which they were driven by the cries of the sufferers they had no power to relieve — they remonstrated and rebuked and entreated in vain ; there was no spirit of reform there — no wish to deliver those who were drawn unto death — no ear open to receive the truth — no heart to feel for the multiplied wrongs of the outraged victim of oppression. They fled to our Northern States, and their hearts beat high with the expectation of mingling with spirits who could weep over the down-trodden slave ; but did they find such spirits ? did they meet with those who sympathized in his sorrows and labored for his redemption ? No ! to their grief and amazement they found that the North was wrapped in profound darkness and apathy ; the gushing fountain of feeling was almost frozen, and they had well nigh despaired of the **bondman ever being released**, except by the strong arm of vengeance in the midst of the war-cry, the roar of the cannon, and the exterminating judgments of an angry God. A lowering cloud had gathered over the land of their birth full of the judgments of God ; and in awful suspense they watched it, deepening and expanding as the oppressor year after year treasured up for himself wrath against the day of wrath and the righteous retribution of Heaven. They had well nigh sunk down in utter hopelessness, as their aching eyes rested on the dark cloud that thickened with gloomy portents and carcered with thunderings, but a star had already arisen in the east, though they knew it not. They had heard some rumor of a fiery comet which had glared on the sky, and thrown far and wide its wild and fierce sweepings, threatening murder and war. Their hearts trembled with fear, they turned away from the spectacle, they refused to listen for a while ; but duty, solemn duty, forced upon their minds the necessity of seeing for themselves ; they seized the telescope of truth, they scanned the frightful meteor, and what was their joy at

finding that it was the star of hope, the harbinger of certain and speedy deliverance to those over whom they had so often wept in secret places. And now, beloved sisters, they have given themselves wholly to the cause of immediate, unconditional, universal emancipation. They ask our help—thy invite us all to join battle with the foes of freedom in this great moral contest—they beckon us onward—shall we respond? or shall we stop our ears to the cry of the poor sent up to our Northern States through their lips and their pens?

HOW NORTHERN WOMEN CAN HELP THE CAUSE OF EMANCIPATION.

We come next to the second grand division of our subject: we are now to show you *how* Northern women can help the cause of abolition. That we be not further tedious unto you, we will endeavor to be concise. We would answer, they can organize themselves into Anti-Slavery Societies, and thus add to the number of those beaming stars which are already pouring their cheering rays upon the dreary pathway of the slave. Let the women of the free States multiply these, until a perfect galaxy of light and glory stretches over our Northern hemisphere. By joining an Anti-Slavery Society we assume a responsibility—we pledge ourselves to the cause—we openly avow that we are on the side of the down-trodden and the dumb—we declare that slavery is a crime against God and against man—and we swell the tide of that public opinion which in a few years is to sweep from our land this vast system of oppression and robbery and licentiousness and heathenism. But be not satisfied with merely setting your names to a constitution—this is a very little thing: read on the subject—none of us have yet learned half the abominations of slavery. We wish that every Northern woman could read “Stroud’s Sketch of the Slave Laws;” they are as a code worthy of the remark made by Summers of Virginia, when speaking of the laws of that State alone. “How will the provisions of our slave code be viewed in after time? I fear some learned antiquary may use them as a portion of his evidence to prove the *barbarism* of the present enlightened and Christian era; I fear lest he may

not *understand* the necessity which with us *justifies our attempt to annihilate the mind* of a portion of our race." How monstrous must be those statutes which seek the annihilation of the immortal mind of man ! how tremendous the crime !

Anti-Slavery publications abound ; and *no intelligent woman ought to be ignorant of this great subject — no Christian woman can escape the obligation now resting upon her, to examine it for herself.* If Anti-Slavery principles and efforts are right, *she is bound to embrace and to aid them* ; if they are wrong, as the vestal virgins of her country's honor and safety, and the church's purity and faith, she is bound to oppose them, to crush them if she can. Read, then, beloved sisters ; and as many of you as are able, subscribe for one or more Anti-Slavery papers or periodicals, and exert your influence to induce your friends to do the same ; and when memory has been stored with interesting facts, lock them not up in her store-house, but tell them from house to house, and strive to awaken interest and sympathy and action in others, who, like Galileo of old, "care for none of these things." The seeds of knowledge must be sown broad-cast over our land — light must be increased a thousand-fold — and woman ought to be in this field : it is *her duty, her privilege* to labor in it "as woman never yet has labored."

By spreading correct information on the subject of slavery, you will prepare the way for the circulation of numerous petitions, both to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the nation. Presbyterians ought to petition their Presbyteries and Synods and the General Assembly. Baptists ought to petition their Annual and the Triennial Conventions. Protestant Episcopalians their Conventions, and Methodists their Annual and General Conferences : beseeching and entreating that they would banish slavery from the communion table and the pulpit, and rebuke iron-hearted prejudice from our places of worship. Such memorials must ultimately produce the desired effect.

Every woman, of every denomination, whatever may be her color or her creed, ought to sign a petition to Congress for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia, slavery in Florida, and the inter-state

slave traffic. Seven thousands of our brethren and sisters are now languishing in the chains of servitude in the capital of this republican despotism: their hands are stretched out to *us* for help; they have heard what the women of England did for the slaves of the West-Indies — 800,000 women signed the petition which broke the fetters of 800,000 slaves; and when there are as many signatures to the memorials sent up by the women of the United States to Congress as there are slaves in our country, oh! then will the prison-doors of the South be opened by the earthquake of public opinion.

We believe you may also help this cause by refraining from the use of slave-grown products. Wives and mothers, sisters and daughters, can exert a very extensive influence in providing for the wants of a family; and those women whose fortunes have been accumulated by their husbands and fathers out of the manufacture and merchandize of such produce, ought to consider themselves deeply indebted to the slave, and be peculiarly anxious to bear a testimony against such participation in the gains of oppression, as well as to aid by liberal donations in spreading Anti-Slavery principles.

Much may be done, too, by sympathizing with our oppressed colored sisters, who are suffering in our very midst. Extend to them the right hand of fellowship on the broad principles of humanity and Christianity, treat them as *equals*, visit them as *equals*, invite them to co-operate with you in Anti-Slavery and Temperance and Moral Reform Societies — in Maternal Associations and Prayer Meetings and Reading Companies. If you regard them as your inferiors, then remember the apostolic injunction to “condescend to men of low estate:” here is a precious opportunity; and if it is improved, dear sisters, we feel assured you will find your own souls watered and refreshed whilst you are watering others. Opportunities frequently occur in travelling, and in other public situations, when your countenance, your influence, and your hand might shield a sister from contempt and insult, and procure for her comfortable accommodations. Then again you can do a great deal towards the elevation of our free colored population, by visiting their day-schools,

and teaching in their Sabbath and evening schools, and shedding over them the smile of your approbation, and aiding them with pecuniary contributions. Go to their places of worship; or, if you attend others, sit not down in the highest seats, among the white aristocracy, but go down to the despised colored woman's pew, and sit side by side with her. Multitudes of instances will continually occur in which you will have the opportunity of *identifying yourselves with this injured class* of our fellow-beings: embrace these opportunities at all times and in all places, in the true nobility of our great Exemplar, who was ever found among the *poor and the despised*, elevating and blessing them with his counsels and presence. In this way, and this alone, will you be enabled to subdue that deep-rooted prejudice which is doing the work of oppression in the free States to a most dreadful extent.

When this demon has been cast out of your own hearts, when you can recognize the colored woman as a WOMAN — *then* will you be prepared to send out an appeal to our Southern sisters, entreating them to “go and do likewise.” The South has been addressed by a Southern woman — she is doubtless expecting, perhaps waiting, for an appeal from her Northern sisters. *When* will Northern women be ready to make such an appeal? Can they be ready *before* they have fulfilled their duties to the colored people around their own doors? A Southern woman, a slaveholder, who visited the North last summer, remarked, she was astonished to find that prejudice against color was so strong and malignant — yes, she was indignant. How, then, would an address on behalf of the slave from *Northern* women appeal to the hearts of such a Southerner? Could she believe its sincerity? or would she not rather turn and say, Go, break the cord of caste in the free States, and then come and persuade us to break the yoke of bondage here. Go back to the North, and lift the colored woman from her low estate there, and then come and talk to us about the slavery of the colored woman here. Go, pluck the beam out of your own eye first, and then will you see clearly how to pull the mote from ours. Go, “physician, heal thyself.” Go, and *when* you have performed *your* duties, then, aided by that correct public

sentiment which you shall have created at the North — *then we will* do our duties at the South.

We solemnly believe that the North can labor effectually with the South *only so far* as she overcomes her deadly hatred to the free colored man. Prejudice, dear sisters, is that Achan in the camp of abolitionists which *must be brought out and stoned before all the people*, before we ever can successfully storm the citadel of slavery, or even its out-works. Look, then, at the tremendous responsibility resting on us at the North. If we do not abandon this cherished sin, *we must* inevitably become individually guilty of keeping our brethren and sisters at the South in bondage, just as the Israelites would have been individually guilty of producing the continued defeat of the army at Ai, if they had refused to surrender Achan to the exterminating sentence of the law.

And since we have set before our white sisters of the North their duties to our sisters of color, so now we would tenderly solicit their indulgence whilst we throw out some suggestions to them. *You*, beloved sisters, have important duties to perform at this crisis, duties no less dignified and far more delicate and difficult. You daily feel the sorrowful effects of the prejudice which is exercised towards those peculiarities of form with which our heavenly Father has stamped you. It is your allotment to bear the cruel scorn and aversion in a thousand different ways. Your hearts often bleed at the heedless expression and studied avoidance — your spirits are often cast down under the glance of contempt and the smile of heartless courtesy, and you feel afraid to come into our presence unless assured that we can greet you as human beings, as women, as sisters; and often, perhaps, when duty calls you into associations with us, you shrink back and refuse to come, lest haply some among us may be too delicate to sit beside you, too fastidious to bear the contact. We know such things must be mortifying, and hard, very hard to endure, especially from your *professed friends*; but we entreat you to “bear with us a little in our folly,” for we have so long indulged this prejudice, that some of us find it exceedingly difficult to divest our minds of it. We fully believe that it is *not* a plant of our Father’s planting,

we are striving to root it up ; have patience then with us whilst the struggle continues, and when it is over we shall be able to labor more effectually than ever for you. You must be willing to mingle with us whilst we have the prejudice, because it is only by associating with you that we shall ever be able to overcome it. You must not avoid our society whilst we are in this *transition state*. “ And indeed bear with us ” for our *own sakes* ; as women, as Christians, we are ashamed of our folly and sin, and we entreat *your aid* to help us to overcome and abandon it. We know that we have not the same mind in us which was in Christ Jesus, and you can confer no greater favor upon us than in thus for a season “ bearing all things, believing all things, hoping all things, enduring all things.” Put on, therefore, towards us, your weak and erring sisters, that charity which is the bond of perfectness, that charity which never faileth. We crave your sympathy and prayers: we deeply feel our need of them.

But there is one thing which above all others we beseech you to do for this glorious cause. *Pray for it*. Pray without ceasing ; for unless all your efforts are baptized with prayer, they can never return into your own bosoms with the blessing of Heaven, they can never effectually help forward this work. We have no confidence in *effort without prayer*, and no confidence in *prayer without effort*. We believe them as inseparably connected as are faith and works. And if any woman tell us that she prays but cannot labor for the slave, we must reply to her in the language of James, in reference to faith and works — show me prayers *without effort*, and we will show thee our prayers *by our efforts*. Yes! sisters — we want you to be persuaded of this, because we are assured that an utter fallacy passes among us for sound doctrine. There is nothing more common than to hear such expressions as these from the lips of men and women who are *doing nothing* to set the bondman free, we are as much Anti-Slavery as you, we abhor slavery as much as any one possibly can. Away with such hypocritical pretensions to sympathy ! It is just that kind of sympathy which says to the naked and hungry, “ Depart in peace, be you warmed and filled, notwithstanding ye give them not those things

which are needful to the body." Well may *we* exclaim with the Apostle "what doth it profit?" *We* believe in no such Anti-Slavery principles, for full well do *we* know that our principles possess a *life and power which must prompt to action a spirit which will live in our life and breathe in our words.*

Ah! but we are told — the measures, the measures we cannot unite with. What is the matter with the measures? Why, there is such a daring of public opinion—such a determination to carry on this work in spite of opposition when you see that the public are not prepared for it — when you know that they have so often produced mobs.

And how, we would ask, is the public to be prepared for the reception of these great doctrines? By throwing a bushel over the candle of truth, because the organs of spiritual vision are pained by its radiance in consequence of the moral darkness in which they have so long been involved?—or, by still continuing to *hold forth* the word of life until the eye gradually becomes accustomed to the light, and at last receives it without pain. What did our Lord mean by calling his disciples *the light of the world*, and by commanding them *to let their lights so shine before men*, that they might see their good works. Did he mean they must cease to preach the truth as soon as wicked and deceitful men opposed the truth, and blasphemed it? Let us learn his meaning from his actions, for *He* embodied all his principles in his glorious *life*. *He* did not speak or profess one thing while *He* acted another. Let us then trace the history of Jesus — let us see whether he propagated doctrines obnoxious to public opinion, adverse to the views of the dignitaries of Church and of State, and whether, when he was traduced and opposed, he bowed to popular tumult and clamor, or stood erect, uprearing the light of truth in the tempest of passion which howled around him.

EXAMPLE OF JESUS AND HIS APOSTLES.

In early childhood his life was sought by Herod, and during all his sojourn in the flesh, "he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," beset by cruel enemies, who went about to kill him. Sometimes the Jews were

so incensed, that they took up stones to cast at him because "they perceived that he spake his parables *against* them." At one time "they thrust him out of the city (of Nazareth) and led him to the brow of the hill that they might cast him down headlong, but he passing through the midst of them went his way." At last a great mob, armed with swords and with staves, came out to take him ; and after being betrayed by one of his own disciples, and mocked and scourged by his enemies, he was put to death, although "He did *no* sin, neither was guile found in his mouth." Judea was in a ferment, and the hearts of the people were moved as the trees of the wood by the sweeping blast. But did all this opposition silence the tongue of *Him*, who "spake as never man spake?" No! he went about from city to city, and from village to village, here in the synagogue and there by the sea-shore, and then again in Peter's ship as it floated on Genesareth, everywhere preaching *those very truths which excited to wrath* the unbelieving Jews.

But from the example of him who was "God manifest in the flesh," let us turn to those who were "men of like passions with ourselves." Was Stephen deterred from proclaiming the truth because "the Jews stirred up the people and elders and the scribes and came upon him and brought him to the council, and set up *false* witnesses against him?" No! he seized upon this very opportunity to trace their history from the call of Abraham, and to prove by recorded facts, that they had "always resisted the Holy Ghost," as their fathers did, so also had they done, in being the betrayers and murderers of that Just One, whose coming their own prophets had foretold. And what were the consequences? Did the Spirit and the power by which he spake convince them? No! they were cut to the heart, and gnashed upon him with their teeth; and even whilst he was full of the Holy Ghost, "they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him." He died by the hands of a lawless mob. And what effect did this violent opposition produce on the Apostles? Did they withhold the truth because the people were unwilling to hear it? or did they fearlessly and

perseveringly "dare public opinion," by their obnoxious *doctrines*? Let the conduct of Peter and John answer this query.

And how did the great Apostle of the Gentiles bear himself? Was he deterred from his work by what he had witnessed at the stoning of Stephen? And when converted to that faith which he once destroyed, was he satisfied with merely ceasing to do evil, or did he also go about preaching that gospel which was to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness? After the scales fell from his eyes, "straightway he preached Christ in the synagogue—that he is the Son of God;" and when by the power of his arguments, he confounded the Jews that dwelt at Damascus, and they took counsel to slay him, he was let down by night in a basket from the wall, and fled to Arabia. We afterwards find him in Jerusalem, where he preached until "the Grecians went about to slay him," when he was sent to Arabia. At Antioch he preached the humiliating doctrine that through the very man Christ Jesus, who had been condemned and executed as a malefactor, the Jews must obtain forgiveness of sins, and be justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses. This roused their malice and envy, so that they contradicted and blasphemed, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul; and even succeeded in stirring up the people and the *devout and honorable women*, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas and expelled them out of their coasts.

At Iconium they preached with such power that a great multitude, both of the Jews and also of the Greeks, believed; yet still the unbelieving Jews stirred up the people, and made their minds evil-affected towards the brethren; and when an assault was made, both by the people and their *rulers*, to use them despitefully, and to stone them, they fled into Lystra. Here, too, Paul was beset by a mob and stoned, and drawn out of the city and left as dead. Did all these persecutions prevent him from promulgating the truths of the gospel? No! In labors he was more abundant than any of the Apostles, and his zeal was equalled only by the virulence with which he was opposed everywhere. We next find him at Thessa-

lonica, where the Jews set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring the Apostles out to the people, but they fled to Berea, where it is stated "they received the word with all readiness of mind and *searched the Scriptures daily to know whether these things were so:*" the consequence of which was, that *honorable women here believed the very truths* which the devout and honorable women of Antioch rejected, through ignorance and prejudice, having suffered themselves to become dupes of those malignant Jews who stirred up the people against the Apostles.

OPPOSITION TO TRUTH SHOULD NOT SILENCE ITS ADVOCATES.

It is *no new thing* for the truth to be opposed by violence, and its promulgators mobbed from city to city. And if Paul felt it his duty to persevere in preaching it notwithstanding the uproars, confusion and insurrections which were raised to crush it, we can see no reason why abolitionists should cease their efforts on behalf of the suffering slave, because mobs are raised against them in New-York, Boston, Utica and Cincinnati. If (as some have asserted) *abolitionists* raised these mobs, then with equal truth it may be said that Paul and Barnabas raised those of Antioch, Lystra, Ephesus and Jerusalem. In view of these facts, what is the duty of the friend of the slave? We answer unhesitatingly, to *go on* fearlessly, uncompromisingly and pacifically to preach the truth and nothing but the truth, in the whole length and breadth of our land. Those who raise these mobs are responsible for that spirit of anarchy and violence which they are producing, and *not* those who are the innocent victims of such outrages.

In the lives of Jesus and his Apostles, do we find our warrant for breasting the furious waves of public opinion, for keeping our ranks in righteousness unbroken, and for steadily holding up the unflickering flame of truth, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. And we must believe that if there were any real principle, any living sympathy in the hearts of those who are "as much Anti-Slavery as we are," and yet condemn our measures,

that instead of doing *nothing* they would devise measures of their own, and if their measures were the right measures doubtless they would prevail and we should be driven from the field. If we do wrong, it is *no excuse for their doing nothing* at such an awful crisis as the present.

MINISTERIAL ADVOCATES OF SLAVERY.

The abolitionists have stood by that altar which avarice and lust of power have consecrated to the demon of slavery, and they have solemnly protested that the priests who offered human sacrifices upon her shrine, would themselves be doomed by the indignant voice of coming generations. The Jeroboams of the South and the North have put forth their hands from that altar, saying, "lay hold on them," but their hands, like that of the presumptuous monarch of Israel, have withered in the impious attempt to close the lips of those who have been raised up in this "hypocritical nation" to "show the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins." Yes! those ministers of the gospel who defend slavery from the Bible are the priests of this bloody Moloch, and as the light of day makes manifest the pollutions which cover objects around us, so will the light of truth reveal the corruption of those *professed* ministers of Christ, who have blasphemed the name of our God by affixing the counterfeit seal of his approbation to the abominations of this system of moral, mental night and ruin. For the bold utterance of the truth, and delivering the message to the people which was entrusted to them, they have been traduced and persecuted even unto strange cities.

IT IS THE PROVINCE OF WOMAN TO LABOR IN THIS CAUSE.

If our brethren, then, have suffered and dared so much in the cause of bleeding humanity, shall *we* not stand side by side with them in the bloodless contest? Is it true that the women of France often follow their husbands and their brothers to the sanguinary contest, putting on the soldier's armor, and facing the fierceness of war's grim visage of death? And shall American women refuse to follow their husbands, fathers and brothers into the wide

field of moral enterprise and holy aggressive conflict with the master sin of the American republic, and the American church? Oh, no! we know the hearts of our sisters too well—we see them already girding on the whole armor of God, already gathering in the plain and on the mountain, in the crowded cities of our seaboard, and the little villas and hamlets of the country; we see them cheering with their smiles and strengthening with their prayers and aiding with their efforts that noble band of patriots, philanthropists and Christians, who have come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. We see them meekly bowing to the obloquy and uncovering their heads to the curses which are heaped by Southern slaveholders upon all who remember those who are in bonds. Woman is now rising in her womanhood, to throw from her, with one hand the paltry privileges with which *man* has invested her, of conquering by fashionable charms and winning by personal attractions, whilst with the other she grasps the right of woman to unite in holy copartnership with man, in the renovation of a fallen world. She tramples these glittering baubles in the dust, and takes from the hand of her *Creator*, the Magna Charta of her high prerogatives as a *moral*, an *intellectual*, an *accountable* being—a *woman*, who, though placed in subjection to the monarch of the world, is still the crown and “the glory of the man.”

When Jehovah was about to erect in the wilderness of Sinai a tabernacle in which he was to walk amidst his chosen people, was it built by the contributions and the labors of man only? Did not *woman* lend her aid to the holy work? What saith the Scripture? “The children of Israel brought a willing offering unto the Lord, every man and every *woman* whose heart made them willing to bring for all manner of work, which the Lord had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses.” And if Bezaleel and Aholiab were “filled with wisdom of heart to work all manner of work, so also the *women* that were wise-hearted, and did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of purple and of blue and of scarlet and of fine linen.”

Woman, as well as man, put forth her energy and ingenuity in preparing materials for the building of the tab-

ernacle. She labored unitedly with him, and shared with him the toils and the honors of bringing *willing offerings* to the tabernacle of the congregation of the Lord. And when our fathers pitched the tabernacle of freedom in this western wilderness, did not *woman* cheer them onward in the privations and sufferings they were called to endure? They well knew that the government they erected could not be permanent: it was like the tabernacle of Sinai, set up in the midst of thunderings and lightnings, and a thick cloud, and the voice of the trumpet waxing louder and louder.

But we live, beloved sisters, in a very different era. The Lord has raised up men whom he has endowed with "wisdom and understanding and knowledge" to lay deep and broad the foundations of the *temple of liberty*. This is a great moral work in which they are engaged. No war-trumpet summons to the field of battle, but wisdom crieth without: "she uttereth her voice in the streets"—"whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring an offering." Shall *woman* refuse her response to the call? or, will she not rather surrender herself to the work, and throw the sympathies of her heart and the gems of her intellect into the treasury of this temple? Was she originally created to be a help meet for man—his sorrows to divide, his joys to share and all his toils to lighten by her willing aid? and shall she refuse to aid him with her prayers, her labors, and her counsels, too, *at such a time, in such a cause as this?*



